

### Lack of UN support in Korea

No one can question that the American public, as opinion polls plainly indicate, is disgruntled with the lack of UN support given us in Korea. We have reason to complain. Since the Chinese intervention last November, the Communists have been able to throw practically a whole new army into the Korean war. Mao Tse-tung's "volunteers" now comprise two-thirds of the 440,000 Red fighters in Korea. Facing them, and outnumbered two to one, are the same battered American and South Korean divisions which began the almost successful push from the Pusan beachhead. On January 13 the UN published its analysis of contributions to the Korean "police" action. The United States and the Republic of South Korea still accounted for five-sixths of the UN ground force personnel:

United States..	150,000	France .....	1,400
South Korea		Canada .....	1,200
(est.) .....	100,000	Philippines .....	1,200
Britain .....	12,000	Belgium .....	1,000
Turkey .....	4,000	New Zealand ...	900
Thailand .....	4,000	Greece .....	800
Australia .....	1,500	Netherlands ....	600

Since General MacArthur pleaded for help from the other members of the UN, *he has received exactly 28,600 soldiers*. The sum total of aid given is actually little more than half the 50,000 casualties (men killed, wounded or missing in action) suffered by the American forces alone. The American people naturally don't like our having to pay such a disproportionate share of the cost of resisting aggression in Asia.

### ... where are the others?

Great Britain, of course, can argue that she is keeping an army in the Middle East, as she must. She can also point to her commitments in Malaya, where she has 17,000 troops fighting Communist guerrillas. France, too, is tied down in Indo-China, where 63,000 French and 87,000 colonial troops are carrying on a lone-handed fight in what is really another theatre of the same war. No other countries, except those listed above, have contributed anything in the way of badly needed ground troops. As for naval assistance, the British Far Eastern Fleet is serving under American command. Australia, Canada, the Netherlands, New Zealand and Thailand have contributed a few frigates, destroyers or corvettes. India (pop. 342 million), whose Pandit Nehru called upon the Security Council last June to meet "this armed attack and restore international peace," has given an ambulance unit and jute bags to carry rice. Colombia's offer of a battalion of infantry and Nicaragua's gift of alcohol and rice represent Latin America's contribution. Argentina has a good-sized military budget and a large, well-trained army, but no troops in Korea. Brazil and Mexico, which also have large armies, are keeping their soldiers at home. *Latin America, which Mr. Hoover thinks can be made a part of the "Gibraltar" of this hemisphere, is sitting out the Korean war. Why?* What Korea proves, despite all the shouting in Congress, is that in the show-down our European allies

## CURRENT COMMENT

are the most dependable. Last June 53 nations signed the resolutions condemning the aggression against the Republic of Korea. A proportionate sacrifice on the part of each one of them—especially the Asiatics and Latin Americans—is not too much for us to expect.

### Premier Plevin needs reassurance

In the early forecasts about the visit of French Premier René Plevin with President Truman January 29-30 it was predicted that the discussions would center on Indo-China. That, however, was before the Soviet Foreign Office fired its explosive note of January 21 at the French Government. Replying to the January 5 French answer to its original charges on December 15, 1950, that French participation in plans for rearming Germany violated the Franco-Soviet Treaty of 1944, the Soviet Union brushed off the French claim that its actions were purely defensive. The whole North Atlantic Alliance "is of an obviously aggressive nature," and the French had better think twice, it implied, before committing themselves further to it. Paris, which had from the beginning warned the United States that this would be the Soviet reaction to incorporating rearmed Germans into the North Atlantic army, found its worst fears realized. Little wonder that M. Plevin, as we go to press, is expected to ask for assurances that U. S. policy has not been affected by the recent "no-ground-troops-to-Europe" drive in the Senate. M. Plevin should receive those assurances. It is now widely conceded that the United States put the cart before the horse when it insisted on threshing out publicly and in detail the rearming of Germany even before an Atlantic defense force was established. We believe, however, that more reassuring than any words will be the inspiring spectacle of an America already embarked on a mammoth arms and manpower program aimed at building up the North Atlantic forces. That should help to steel France against those further Soviet threats which will inevitably accompany our every step toward preparedness.

### 18-year-olds: draft and UMTS?

On January 17 the Administration presented to the Armed Services Committees of Congress a definite bill to provide for both the *immediate* and the *long-range* manpower needs of the armed forces. The bill makes

it clear that the Pentagon wants to make 18-year-olds subject, not only to a program of Universal Military Training and Service, but also to our present Selective Service draft. Last week we queried how UMTS would solve the *immediate* problem of bringing our forces up to 3.46 million by June 30. It won't. This is to be done, it seems, by drafting 18-year-olds *immediately*, i.e., as soon as Congress changes the law (if it does). The induction of 18-year-olds into UMTS would come *after June 30*, as a means of providing a reservoir of young men with four to six months of basic training behind them. Should full mobilization become necessary after UMTS has been in effect for some time, we would have a "broad base" for rapid expansion of our military manpower. The *drafting* of 18-year-olds *now* may well be necessary. The only alternative would be to draft nonveteran married men, nonveteran fathers and perhaps even veterans who saw limited service. Presumably, about 200,000 18-year-olds would be drafted to fill out our requirement of 3.46 million men between now and June 30. By that date, however, the further drafting of 18-year-olds would seem to be unnecessary. UMTS is another kettle of fish altogether. Under this long-range program, *all* qualified 18-year-olds would be inducted for a period up to twenty-seven months. The first four to six months would consist of basic training. The President would have power to decide, after the inductees had completed their basic training, whether they were needed for the rest of the twenty-seven months of service.

#### ... and some questions

UMTS, while it may very well be necessary, gives rise to no little puzzlement. By June 30 Selective Service will, if the law is amended, have inducted enough 18-year-olds to raise our forces to 3.46 million, without having exhausted the pool of 18-year-olds subject to the draft between now and then. Will youths who have reached the age of eighteen before June 30 and have not been drafted by that date retain their draft status? Or will they become subject to UMTS? When Mrs. Anna Rosenberg, Assistant Secretary of Defense, first proposed UMTS on January 10, she based her calculations on *the number of youths who would become eighteen from July 1, 1951, to June 30, 1952*. She did not consider those who had reached eighteen by June 30 and had not been drafted. She

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estimated the number of those becoming eighteen in 1951-52 at one million, of whom 700,000 might be qualified for UMTS under present standards. She pointed out, however, that the armed services would be able to provide basic training for only 450,000 of this first crop of 18-year-olds during the first year of UMTS. At first sight, therefore, it looks as if we shall have between July 1, 1951, and June 30, 1952: 1) hundreds of thousands of youths who became eighteen *before* June 30, 1951, and who have not been drafted (some of these will be eighteen during much of 1951-52; many will have turned nineteen); 2) at least 250,000 qualified youths who turned eighteen *after* next June 30 but who cannot be accommodated under UMTS's basic-training program during its first year. If we look even further ahead, what will happen when the *second* crop of 18-year-olds becomes subject to UMTS on July 1, 1952? Will the 250,000 surplus of 1951-52 be inducted with the new crop, or what? It's much better to have too many men available than too few. Still, it looks as if there are kinks in the UMTS proposal.

#### Mission to the Holy See?

President Truman, who announced last August 3 that he was thinking of appointing a regular diplomatic representative to the Holy See (AM. 8/19/50, p. 501), has now abandoned the idea, according to a Religious News Service report of January 18. The State Department, said the report, had recommended against the appointment. On the other hand, a State Department official told one of our editors that there had been no change in the Department's position on a diplomatic mission to the Vatican. RNS added that "members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee have privately told the White House" that the appointment of a Vatican envoy would be "unwise at this time." "A member of the Senate who speaks with authority on foreign relations" was quoted as stating that the nomination of a U. S. envoy to the Holy See would arouse a heated debate which would "rock the ship of state at a time when there are waves enough on the seas," and would provide plenty of grist for the Communist propaganda mills. At this point, the question naturally suggests itself: just who are the people who would do all this rocking of the boat? Not the Catholics, certainly; they have no objection to a U. S. representative at the Vatican. Numerous Protestant groups, however, have gone on record as being opposed to diplomatic relations with the Holy See. On what grounds? The "separation of Church and State" argument scarcely holds water when one realizes that diplomatic missions to the Vatican are maintained by India, overwhelmingly Hindu; by Egypt, more than ninety-nine-per-cent Moslem; by France, whose laws have long required strict separation of Church and State. They send envoys because the unique position of the Holy See makes it a profitable thing to do, diplomatically. The President and the State Department would send an envoy for precisely the same reason—

to promote the interests of the United States. Protestants who oppose such a mission from religious partisanship are exalting prejudice over patriotism.

#### **Bevan neutralized**

Like practically all the governments in the Western world, the British Labor Government, confronted with the need of rearming, is having its troubles. That seems sufficient explanation of the Cabinet shifts which Prime Minister Attlee announced on January 17. A shrewd operator, Mr. Attlee moved Aneurin Bevan from the Ministry of Health to the Ministry of Labor and National Service. In this spot, which Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin brilliantly occupied during World War II, Mr. Bevan will have the vast and unpopular task of persuading British workers to make the hard sacrifices stemming from the defense program. Since he was an obvious choice for the job, being extremely energetic and vastly popular with the union rank and file, Mr. Bevan could not very well decline the promotion. By this stroke, the Prime Minister clearly strengthened his Government. He also neutralized the obstreperous leader of the Labor Party's left wing and his most dangerous critic. Mr. Bevan will not have the same interest as before in protesting cuts in the social services required by the rearmament program. In fact, his great abilities must now be directed to making the unpalatable defense program a success. The other Cabinet shifts are of less importance.

#### **Gamblers and gamblers**

People hereabouts have been shocked by the revelation that professional gamblers succeeded several times last year in bribing college boys to throw basketball games in Madison Square Garden. At the moment one Junius Kellogg, center of the competent Manhattan College quintet, is the toast of the town because he spurned the enticements of the fixers and revealed them to the police. Though the public reaction to this nauseating business was entirely laudable, it set us reflecting about the ways of morals and men. About the same time the gambling story broke, the Commodity Exchange Authority—a Government agency charged with overseeing the commodity markets—revealed that since the outbreak of the Korean war speculation “has markedly increased in war-sensitive commodities.” J. M. Mehl, administrator of CEA, asserted that during the past fiscal year trading in soybean futures was more than fifteen times the size of the crop. His annual report also recalled that a referee sustained Government charges against a group of Chicago traders for cornering the market in egg futures. No one knows how much this excessive, war-stimulated speculation has cost consumers, but the figure must be somewhere in the hundred millions. Yet the general public, so quickly roused by the basketball scandal, makes no outcry against commodity speculation, even when it involves cornering the market. Admittedly, there is the important difference that the gamblers in commodities bribed no one, and their

harmful activities got no headlines. Still, one would expect some public disapproval of such unabashed greed, at least in wartime. Has all the business talk about the legitimacy of the profit motive blunted, where money-making is concerned, the moral judgment of the American people?

#### **Meat prices again**

In an interview with the press on January 20, Loren Bamert, president of the American Cattlemen's Association, further elucidated his views on the general subject of meat prices (AM. 1/20, p. 445). For the spiraling cost of meat, said Mr. Bamert, there is no excuse whatsoever. He attributed the whole mess 1) to hoarding of meat by apprehensive consumers or, rather, by “a small portion of the more greedy, above-average income group,” and 2) to “irresponsible talk of officials which frightened people into believing they faced immediate shortages and price boosts.” Mr. Bamert offered this solution:

The cattlemen of the nation have worked out a program of peak production which—if they are left to carry it out without hampering Government controls—will provide the nation with all the meat required and at honest prices based on the level of supply and demand.

At this late day, urban consumers will be interested to learn that “honest” prices are prices “based on the level of supply and demand.” For the past fifteen years they have been taught otherwise. Indeed, they have paid higher taxes than would otherwise have been necessary, to underwrite schemes designed precisely to protect cattle-raisers from the law of supply and demand. They were persuaded that sometimes the prices determined by the level of supply and demand, far from being “honest,” were grossly unfair to stockmen. No doubt, the urban consumer will be glad to know that this is not so, though he may wonder why the truth was only discovered when the law of supply and demand notably favored the cattlemen. This may strike him as a strange coincidence—one not to be forgotten after the present emergency has passed.

#### **Plight of the oldsters**

A simple advertisement for a messenger “between 45 and 65” is becoming something of a sociological phenomenon. Here is a copy of the ad as it appeared in the New York Times:

MESENTER, 40-hr., 5 day, \$34, steady.  
Prefer retired man bet. 45-65. G335 Times.

Within three days, the business man who placed the ad was swamped by 245 replies. Among the applicants for the humble and not very remunerative job were retired postal employees, retired firemen, policemen and servicemen, and a number of former businessmen. Over and over again the letters told the same stories. Wrote one oldster: “I am well educated and am retired with a small income which is not enough to make ends meet due to the increase in living costs.” And another: “I am 63 years of age, in very good health, and I am



not pleased with my retirement." The inadequacy of pensions and the tedium of retirement—these were the dominant themes in the flood of mail. On January 18, the *Times*, rightly judging the incident to be significant and newsworthy, printed the story of the ad and its sequel. The next day the *Times* itself was deluged. Businessmen and agencies called, wrote, telegraphed and came in person offering to hire the men or to assist them in finding jobs. The cold reports of social agencies, which have been stressing for some time the unhappiness of retired oldsters and their inability to find jobs in private industry—"No one over 45 need apply"—suddenly took on flesh and blood.

### Propaganda by pictures

Maybe it's possible to make a picture record of two unpleasant aspects of today's Spain—poverty and dictatorship—which would be convincing. *Look's* January 30, six-page feature on "Franco Spain: Poorhouse of the West" is not it. What coverage it does give is obviously selective. Ten of the fourteen snaps are of slum districts and/or slum dwellers. Life in the United States also looks pretty desolate when Russian commissars use this phony technique against us. Even at that, the claims made in the text aren't justified by the highly selective photos. The people are starving, runs the story. But of the twenty slum-dwellers who can be distinctly discerned in the photos not one is particularly emaciated. "Two heavily armed policemen question a mother and child," glowers the text. But all the picture shows is a woman and a young boy talking to a cop. They may simply be asking where the nearest movie house is. There are few automobiles, but "always . . . people on bicycles." That's true all over Europe. "Or more often on foot, passing by slowly, silently, alone." Of the twenty-odd people shown on a fairly empty street, six are actually in pairs. Is this so different from an American street? Finally, "into the inner councils of Fascist Spain, under the guns of the ever-present civil guard at Franco's Madrid palace, passes a key member of the nation's élite—a Catholic priest of the state church." Priests visit the White House, too, you know. Spain has her troubles and her faults, but "low-downs" like *Look's*, motivated by "selective indigation," don't help one whit to a temperate assessment of them.

### Volunteer Freedom Corps

If Senator Lodge (R., Mass.) has his way the U. S. Army will soon be augmented by a 250,000-man Volunteer Freedom Corps. Under the terms of a bill (S.238) which the Senator introduced on January 8, the Secretary of the Army is authorized to accept voluntary enlistments of qualified, unmarried male aliens, for a period of at least two years, for service outside the continental United States. Recruits would neither be eligible for veterans' benefits nor entitled, by reason of their military service, to be admitted to the United States under our immigration laws, or to qualify for naturalization. In proposing the bill, Sen-

ator Lodge insisted that these volunteers should not be considered as mercenary adventurers, but rather as friendly aliens who are willing to fight with us in a common cause. He is convinced that there are thousands of rootless young men in Western Europe who would jump at the chance to fight against the Communist oppressors of their countries, and that, once the Freedom Corps had been established, thousands more from behind the Iron Curtain would join them. Last year, the Congress passed a law permitting the Regular Army to enlist 2,500 aliens. These men are to be trained as officers for service anywhere in the world. To provide leadership for the Freedom Corps, Senator Lodge wants to broaden that officer program by enlisting 25,000 candidates. In this way the language difficulty involved in any large-scale use of alien soldiers would be solved. Since five Senators joined Mr. Lodge in sponsoring S.238, there is a good chance that the bill will receive the consideration it deserves. The Freedom Corps offers one democratic answer to the Cominform army which Stalin is building, as well as to his use of satellite troops in the Orient.

### School issue in Ontario

Democracy, groping for ways of offsetting the atheistic materialism of aggressive Marxism, is weakened from within by every advance towards more secularized education. The Province of Ontario is the scene of the latest proposal to minimize religious education. At the end of 1950 the Hope Commission published the results of its five-year survey on education in the Province, in a report running to 500,000 words. The majority proposed: 1) to reduce the length of elementary schooling, the only area in which Catholic schools receive tax support, from eight (sometimes more) to six years; 2) to set up a new system of intermediate (junior high) schools between the truncated elementary system and senior high schools; 3) to remove support of the new schools from the system of taxation in which Catholic elementary schools share and thereby substitute a secularized public schooling for the last years of religious schooling in the "separate" schools. The effect of such a change is to narrow further the already limited scope of genuine religious freedom in education in Ontario. Compared to the United States, Ontario has hitherto respected parental rights in education (see Donald A. Pierce's excellent chapter in our America Press booklet, *The Right to Educate*). Catholic Quebec has provided more fully for freedom of education than Ontario, as is evident from the Protestant Committee of the Council of Education's report last May. Besides their natural rights, Ontario's Catholics have a strong constitutional right on their side under Canada's fundamental law, the British North America Act of 1867. It may be, as B. K. Sandwell predicted in *Saturday Night*, published in Toronto, for January 9, that "moderation and good sense will prevent the Hope proposals from ever being brought before the Legislature in a Government measure."



## WASHINGTON FRONT

If Joseph Stalin's scouts in Washington reported to him last week that a great change had suddenly come over Washington, they would have told him the truth, even if it wasn't necessarily pleasant. If they had further reported that the U. S. capital had got over its jitters, they would have been near the truth.

Not that the news from Korea was any more encouraging, or that the situation at Lake Success was any less murky. There was still the prospect that we would have to draft the 18-year-olds for military training, and that we would have to push taxes to unprecedented heights. It was even surer that we would have price and wage controls, and maybe even rationing of goods. It was still not certain that General Eisenhower's report from Europe would be encouraging for the free world. It was certainly just as certain as before his trip that Soviet Russia was still bent on world conquest. Neither President Truman nor any other public man had, at this writing, made any flaming call of leadership to the nation, nor had the stumbling blocks of partisanship in Congress been removed.

Yet the fact was that, almost overnight, the nation's capital had settled down calmly and buckled to its task. How can we explain it? Maybe, after the Hoover and several Taft speeches, the air was suddenly cleared, and Washington felt that we knew the worst. That has always been for us Americans a means of settling down. More likely, however, Congress and the Executive had heard from home that the American people, no matter what their representatives thought, were not frightened.

A cartoon recently appeared in which a statesman said agitatedly: "We must not get ahead of the people!" A filling-station attendant nearby said: "Mister, the people passed through here five years ago." That would seem to be the truth.

So it appears that the jitters which Washington visibly suffered were merely those of a "passel of politicians," not a true reflection of the feelings of people back home. The people back home had long ago made up their minds that they were going to pay through the nose to safeguard their heritage of freedom. They knew they were going to have to send their 18-year-old boys through military training now, so that our youths would not, as so often happened in World War II, be rushed into the front line without proper hardening for combat duty. Moreover, the people knew what an all-out insurance for peace would cost them in terms of money.

The moral would seem to be that it never pays, even for a politician, to sell the American people short. They can be depended upon to come through in a crisis, no matter how menacing. **WILFRID PARSONS**

## UNDERSCORINGS

The Committee on International Relations of the University of Notre Dame is sponsoring a forum at the university, Feb. 7 and 8, on "The Catholic Church and World Affairs." The speakers will be Rev. John Courtney Murray, S.J., of Woodstock College ("Church and State in the Twentieth Century"), Yves Simon, of the University of Chicago ("Catholic Church and Democracy"), Msgr. Harry Koenig, of Mundelein Seminary ("Peace Policies of the Popes"), Heinrich Rommen, of St. Thomas College, St. Paul ("Catholic Church and Human Rights"), Rev. Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., Notre Dame ("Catholic Church in the U. S."), Aaron I. Abell, of Notre Dame, ("American Catholics and the Social Question"), Robert F. Byrnes, of Rutgers University ("Catholic Church in France"), and Waldemar Gurian, of Notre Dame, ("Catholic Church in Germany").

► The January *Newsletter* of the Catholic Broadcasters Association carries news of Catholic radio programs, or Catholic participation in programs, in San Antonio, Texas, Marietta, Ga., Brainerd, Minn., Albuquerque, N. M., Duluth, Minn., South Orange, N. J., Shreveport, La., St. Louis, Mo., Pasadena, Calif., New Orleans, La., and Fond du Lac, Wis. Catholic colleges in Philadelphia take part in an adult-education television program over WFIL-TV.

► The New York *Daily Worker*, Communist newspaper, on January 19 proclaimed a state of emergency in the circulation department. Circulation has fallen to 14,000 for the daily edition, 48,000 for the Sunday edition. Tough, isn't it?

► The eighteenth annual convention of the Association of Catholic School Press Relations will be held, Feb. 1-2, at Loretto Heights College, Loretto, Colo.

► In the winter issue (Dec., 1950) of the *Catholic Alumnae Quarterly* (22 East 38th St., New York 16) Miss Catherine Schaefer, NCWC observer at the UN General Assembly, pleads for scholarships in U. S. Catholic colleges for laywomen and teaching sisters from Asia, Africa and the Latin American countries. Says Miss Schaefer: "Catholic laywomen from those areas, well trained in the social sciences and social work . . . who know something of the mentality and civilization of the United States, can have an influence out of all proportion to the money spent to train them."

► The Holy Father has asked the National Council of Catholic Men to assist in organizing and spreading the International Federation of Catholic Men, recently formed in Rome. Stewart Lynch, of Wilmington, Del., national president of NCCM, is one of the two vice presidents of IFCM and a member of the executive council, on which eleven nations are represented. Jean le Cour Grandmaison, head of the National Federation of French Catholic Action, is president of IFCM.—C. K.

## UN at the crossroads

Last week in these pages Father Kearney, our Far Eastern editor, discussed the changes which the intervention of the Chinese Red Army had brought about in the enforcement situation in Korea, from the point of view of the UN's military competence. Father Kearney recalled a fact which the UN's publicity agents have always glossed over, that the UN was not designed to take enforcement action against one of the five great Powers. It was designed to take police action against the smaller Powers, such as North Korea. When the Chinese Red Army intervened, said Father Kearney, the UN should therefore have declared at once "that it was incompetent to bring Red China, a big Power, militarily, to book."

We are happy to note that the influential Washington *Post* believes that it is not too late even now for such an admission. Editorializing January 22 on "Test of the UN," the *Post* held:

The realistic approach would be to report that a completely new situation has developed and to modify the UN policy accordingly. If a majority of the UN members believes that Mao Tse-tung's intervention has changed the outlook for achievement of their aims in Korea, and that the cause of world peace will no longer be served by continuing the struggle in that area, the Assembly ought to say so frankly. It should not leave the United States in the predicament of carrying on a UN war which the UN no longer sustains and supports. Such a policy would reap a whirlwind of bitterness that might destroy the UN and put the whole cause of collective security under a cloud.

A General Assembly recommendation for withdrawal of UN forces from Korea, would, the *Post* concedes, be a blow to UN prestige, but "there is no easy road out of the Korean morass." Nevertheless, the *Post* continues,

a forthright declaration that the intervention of a great Power has made it impossible to carry out the UN's policy in Korea by military means would leave that body in a much stronger position than any appeasement venture or any craven pretense that the war in Korea is an American affair. The UN has skated on thin hope long enough. It needs to get on firmer ground, and the United States should lead in that effort instead of demanding the impossible.

Unfortunately, official American spokesmen are "demanding the impossible," i.e., that the UN stop the Red Chinese aggression, and thereby, we believe, endangering "the whole cause of collective security."

Chief among the culprits is free-swinging Tom Connally, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Opening the foreign policy debate in the Senate January 11, he berated the UN for not taking "effective collective measures to suppress aggression." "That means," he added, "aggression by great Powers as well as by small Powers." Senator Connally, allergic as he is to book learning, may perhaps be excused for not knowing the true nature of the UN. But how explain a similar misconception on the part of Ernest A.

## EDITORIALS

Gross, who is second in command of the U.S. delegation to the UN? In Roanoke, Va., on January 20, Mr. Gross delivered himself of the following:

The UN now confronts another challenge, and the problem is not to separate big aggressors from little ones. The problem is to face aggression squarely and to take those decisions which the fact of aggression requires. It is our judgment that if it does not do so, the UN will not survive, and its system of collective security will die on the vine.

There, veiled in the verbiage of the State Department, is the Connally demand: the UN must resist the Red Chinese aggression or forfeit its claim to be the world's security system.

Two days later, Mr. Gross was answered from an unexpected quarter, by none other than a fellow-member of the U.S. delegation to the UN. In a communication carried in the January 22 *Washington Post*, Benjamin V. Cohen, identified, rather strangely, merely as "former counselor to the State Department," came to the defense of the UN, as the world's security system, against Walter Lippmann and Senator Taft. Mr. Cohen took both to task for contending that collective security is an unworkable principle and that "we should develop our own policy of alliances without regard to the nonexistent power of the UN to prevent aggression."

Obviously basing his argument on the distinction between the UN's ability to resist small-Power aggression and great-Power aggression, Mr. Cohen asserted:

The power of the United Nations in respect to collective security is not nonexistent because its exercise by military sanctions is not always practicable.

Abandoning the principle of collective security because it cannot be universally enforced, Mr. Cohen continued, "is like asking the American people to abandon the Bill of Rights because it is not, and possibly cannot be, fully enforced everywhere in the United States."

The United Nations does not demand the impossible. It does not demand the use of force in every case. It does not demand abortive action to save face. In some cases only conciliation and mediation may be practicable.

Messrs. Connally and Gross are still demanding that the UN demand the impossible, that it demand the use of force against a great Power.

Mr. Cohen should take them into a corner and tell them the score.

## Chinese checkers: Mao vs. UN

Five days after Communist China had turned down the UN's third attempt to arrange a satisfactory cease-fire in Korea, the UN still hesitated to call a spade a spade. On January 22, as the Political Committee of the General Assembly began to debate the American proposal to condemn Chinese aggression, India's Sir Benegal Rau, the man with a fixation for "discussion and elucidation" of Red Chinese double talk, took the floor. He read a statement addressed by the Communist regime to India's ambassador in Peiping.

The document proved to be a "clarification" of Peiping's categorical rejection on January 17 of the UN's latest truce move. The statement was so conciliatory, thought the Indian delegate, that it merited a 48-hour consideration. Over vigorous American objection, the Committee voted, 27 to 23, with 6 abstentions, to adjourn for that period.

The statement read by Sir Benegal was an answer to certain questions put to the Chinese Foreign Office by India's ambassador. It covered three main points:

1. The January 17 communiqué from Peiping to the UN had insisted that negotiations *precede* an acceptable cease-fire. What Red China was really offering, said Rau, was a "cease-fire for a limited time-period" at the start of negotiations.

2. The first Chinese Communist reply had insisted that the Peiping regime receive China's seat in the UN at the very beginning of its proposed seven-Power conference on Far Eastern problems. Now Red China was willing to negotiate, provided its right to the seat was "insured."

3. On January 17 Red China had proposed negotiation on the "basis of agreement to the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea." Now the Peiping regime was willing to "advise" its "volunteers" to withdraw from Korea, if the UN forces would agree to get out.

Though Sir Benegal prefers to see in this communiqué a clarification of Red China's position in regard to the cease-fire, it has, as a matter of fact, rather beclouded the issue. On January 17 the UN at least knew that Mao Tse-tung would not submit to a cease-fire before negotiations. Now he proposes a "cease-fire for a limited time-period." For how long? For as long as Mao thinks it useful? There is no assurance that Red China will not renew the fighting whenever it finds it convenient. What if the UN forces withdrew and Mao's "volunteers" did not take Peiping's "advice"?

What is meant by "insuring" Peiping's admission to the UN? If this means a U.S. promise that we will not oppose their bid for Nationalist China's seat, Mao is still demanding a place in the UN at the point of a gun.

There is little difference between this restatement and China's January 17 rejection of the UN cease-fire proposal. Whereas the Chinese Communists then insisted that a cease-fire must follow negotiations, they are now willing to concede a previous cease-fire *but only as long as they get what they want*.

Unfortunately, this latest maneuver of Red China

has split the non-Communist coalition right down the middle. Great Britain, Canada and others appear swayed by Peiping's "conciliatory move." On January 23, while the U.S. Senate was unanimously adopting two resolutions asking the UN to reject Red Chinese membership and to brand China the aggressor, Prime Minister Attlee was being roundly applauded in the House of Commons as he counseled the UN not to take new decisions on Communist Chinese intervention in Korea at this time. The twelve Asiatic and Arab states, sponsors of the already rejected cease-fire proposals, still sought to work out another "middle of the road" plan.

It seemed clear that the United States would not get an overwhelming majority in support of its proposal to condemn Red China. The UN was sinking deeper into the mire of compromise. Worse than that, the dissension in the non-Communist majority was rapidly building up to an impasse, which threatened the very foundations of Western unity.

## Rubber ceilings?

As this Review went to press last week, the Joint Congressional Committee on the President's Economic Report was groping for light on the Government's somewhat muddled anti-inflation program. Before the hearings end, Charles E. Wilson, director of Economic Mobilization; Eric Johnston, who last week succeeded Alan Valentine as head of the Economic Stabilization Agency; and Marriner Eccles, of the Federal Reserve Board, will have offered responses to three pertinent questions. They will have explained to the Congressmen 1) what has been done to stop inflation up till now, 2) what new measures ought to be taken, 3) what obstacles stand in the way of such measures.

The answer to the first question is easy. The Congressmen will learn what they very well know already, that the Government has attempted to stabilize wages and prices by cutting down on consumer and business credit, by upping taxes, by restricting nondefense Government spending, and by appealing to labor and management to keep wages and prices within bounds by voluntary methods. In one solitary industry—the automobile—ESA forced management to rescind a price increase and hold the line existing on December 1. Beyond that, the Government's energies have been exclusively directed to organizing and staffing the new stabilization agencies.

The answer to the second question, if the late news from Washington can be trusted, is that the time has come to put ceilings on all wages and prices. Eric Johnston is reported to have delegated all the necessary authority to Michael V. DiSalle, Director of Price Stabilization, to impose a price freeze, and similar powers to Cyrus S. Ching, head of the Wage Stabilization Board, to clamp down on wages. By the time you read this, the big step will probably have been taken.



In answering the third question, the defense mobilizers may well have listed a whole series of obstacles, actual and potential, which will make it hard to keep the economy frozen.

First of all, there is the obvious unwillingness of stockmen to submit to ceilings on meat, and their ability, as was demonstrated under OPA, to render them largely ineffective. In general, farmers are adamantly opposed to controls on food, and the powerful American Farm Bureau Federation has been lobbying against them for the past several weeks.

In the second place, price controls cannot be effective unless they are accompanied by a strong anti-inflationary fiscal policy. Such a policy supposes, among other things, that the defense program be placed on a pay-as-you-go basis. This means a tax increase of at least \$16 billion, and there is no assurance that Congress will approve such a large impost.

Furthermore, a good many experts think that the Government must abandon the cheap money policy which the Treasury has been following for years. Secretary of the Treasury Snyder shows no signs, however, of dumping that policy. Only two weeks ago, in an address in New York, he reiterated it, despite the known opposition of the Federal Reserve Board.

Under the circumstances, it is a fair assumption that whatever ceilings are imposed now will be extremely flexible. Since agricultural prices cannot be frozen by law until they reach parity, and since a good many of them are not now at parity, the cost of living is bound to go higher. That means higher wages and higher industrial prices. The real freeze, therefore, is yet to come.

## Germans are choosing sides

The suspicion has been growing for some time that the U. S. policy of making a big issue of German rearmament now was ill-timed. The scheme not only alarmed the French but quite understandably struck terror in many German hearts. Germany is the Western nation most exposed to Russian conquest and, owing to our having completely disarmed her, is the least equipped to resist it. There was much sense, therefore, in the Western German Socialists' stand: that Germany would not rearm until Big Three armies were built up sufficiently in Germany to ease the threat.

The situation seemed to be whirling around in a vicious circle in which the Germans were saying "we won't help you to defend us until you are strong enough to defend us without our help." This impossible run-around, for which our precipitate demands were not a little to blame, now seems to be straightening out under pressure of events, and not because of U. S. diplomatic finesse.

The first event was West Germany's reply to East Germany's invitation to discuss the reunification of the country. East Germany's Premier Otto Grotewohl and

his Kremlin backers knew that unification would be alluring bait for all Germans, politicians or not, and they certainly expected at least a qualified acceptance of the possibility of discussion. Instead, what they got from West Germany's Chancellor Adenauer was a flat No, vigorously endorsed by every political party except the Communist.

The answer was No, because it laid down as prerequisite to any talks conditions the Communists can hardly accept. Those conditions were: Germans in the East Republic must be granted the liberties and securities customary in a state recognizing the rule of law; they must be free to form political parties; the East German police, "a party instrument subject to a foreign Power," must be abolished.

Western Germany thus proclaims again that a free Germany must stand with the free West. A very probable consequence of this decision is that even those Germans who had been lulled by the pipe-dream of national unification (to be followed by "neutrality") will begin to see that, to stand with the West, Germany must rearm with the West.

The second event impelling Germans to rearm is the acceleration of rearmament in the Atlantic Treaty nations and the stimulus of General Dwight D. Eisenhower's whirlwind survey trip. The step-up in NATO military might means that Germany will be less exposed to inundation by the Soviets. She can feel more secure in starting a military build-up. General Eisenhower, viewed ungraciously by many in Germany, scored a personal diplomatic triumph by his frank statements. He added to the Germans' sense of security in the event of rearmament by asserting that German contingents in any European army would be on exactly the same footing as any other troops. Said he: "I would never consent to be in command of any unit whose soldiers . . . were not there believing they were serving their country and civilization and freedom."

German rearmament, however, is not a one-way street. Though their will to embark on it is getting stronger, the Germans want some conditions agreed to. They ask a "treaty law" to replace the present occupation statute. They want military equality, and General Ike seems to agree with them. They want financial aid in rearming and assurance of no "sell-out" of Germany in any four-Power conference. The Big Three will certainly agree to the last of these conditions. It's in the cards that the occupation statute will be junked. Financial aid may be a knotty point, but the good will that exists on both sides can solve that without great strain.

There's no doubt about it: the Germans *are* choosing sides. Don't think it has been an easy choice. It's hard for us to realize the agony (personal as well as national) involved in the decision to stand by the West and thus abandon any foreseeable hope of a reunited land.

That brave decision might have come earlier had U. S. policy been more adroit. That it *has* come is good news.

# Threat to religious broadcasting

Edward J. Heffron

Edward J. Heffron, who here alerts Americans of all faiths to take immediate action to prevent religious broadcasting from being completely banned from the air, was, until last May, Director of Public Relations for the National Conference of Christians and Jews. He is now Director of Community Relations for Johnson & Johnson, New Brunswick, N. J.

THE FAT—of “separation of Church and State,” I mean—is in the fire again. This time it is not religious education, however, but religious broadcasting that faces a roasting in the oven of the First Amendment. Let me spell out what has been happening.

On February 6, 1947, a group that is known as the Kansas City Broadcasting Company, headed by the Rev. Wendell Zimmerman, pastor of the Kansas City Baptist Temple, filed an application with the Federal Communications Commission for a license to operate a standard radio station in Kansas City, Mo. On March 3, 1949, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints applied for a license to operate a station on the same frequency, only seven and one-half miles away, in Independence, Mo. Since the applications were conflicting, they were consolidated for purposes of consideration by FCC.

By the Communications Act of 1934, Congress reserved the control of all radio and television channels to the Federal Government. This Act provided for the creation of the Federal Communications Commission to exercise such control. It specified that the Commission might grant or renew broadcasting licenses for limited periods of time only—now three years—and only to those who undertake to serve “the public interest, convenience or necessity.”

An applicant for a broadcasting license is entitled to a hearing. He is usually heard by an FCC Hearing Examiner, who then hands an Initial Decision up to the Commission. This the Commission may reject, remand or affirm; except that if nothing is done about it—if the Commission does not take contrary action and if no objection is entered—the Initial Decision becomes the final and official decision of FCC forty days from the time of public notice.

An Initial Decision was first handed up in this consolidated case on December 9, 1949. Hearing Examiner J. D. Bond ruled against the Kansas City Broadcasting Company (originally a partnership, later incorporated) on the ground that the officers and directors were not possessed of an understanding of business and accounting practices sufficient to enable them to operate a radio station in the public interest.

This left the application of the Reorganized Mormons to be disposed of. To understand Mr. Bond's startling conclusions in their respect, we need to know one or two facts about a third case then pending (and still unresolved) before FCC.

On February 23, 1949, the Radio Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention and the Executive Board of the Baptist General Convention of Texas filed a

petition with FCC. This petition asked FCC to amend its rules, which reserved a certain band of FM frequencies for educational stations, in order to permit religious organizations to share that reservation; or else to reserve an additional band for religious organizations. On October 21, 1949, FCC set this petition down for hearing on two specified issues. One of these was “Whether the Commission may, consistently with the provisions of the First Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, establish a specific category of religious broadcast stations.” Shades of Vashti McCollum!

It was pointed out at the time that if the First Amendment were held a bar to reserving a band of frequencies to religious licensees, it must by the same logic be a bar to reservation of a single frequency to a religious licensee; and that if it were considered a breach of “separation of Church and State” to permit *full-time* religious broadcasting on Government-controlled radio frequencies, it could be held that *part-time* religious broadcasting was likewise unconstitutional. In other words, if FCC held *contra* on the aforementioned issue stipulated in the Southern Baptist case, *all religious radio stations, and indeed all religious broadcasts*, would be in danger of being held unconstitutional.

The Commission had not yet decided this issue when J. D. Bond handed up his Initial Decision *re* the Reorganized Mormons on December 9, 1949. Mr. Bond held that

the application of the Reorganized Church . . . is wholly in compliance with the Commission's Rules and Standards of Good Engineering Practice . . . This applicant . . . possesses the legal qualifications requisite to the assumption and performance of the duties of a broadcast station licensee . . . the applicant is financially qualified . . . its proposed programs . . . would serve the public interest, convenience and necessity.

But, said Mr. Bond:

It is suggested . . . that a favorable consideration of the application . . . would result in a grant of these facilities to an organized minority religious group in aid of their church objectives . . . We are thus confronted with a serious obstacle to favorable action upon the Independence proposal . . . because of that provision of the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States which directs that, “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.”

Referring then to the pending issue in the Southern Baptist case, Mr. Bond declared:

We therefore conclude that, although the proposal

of the Reorganized Church is in all other respects acceptable, *its application must be denied at this time because of the presently undetermined applicability of the First Amendment to licensing radio stations for religious purposes* (Emphasis added).

On December 30, 1949, the Southern Baptists amended their petition. Instead of asking for a reservation for "religious organizations" it now sought the reservation for "all recognized nonprofit organizations, including charitable, civic, fraternal and other such organizations in addition to religious groups." This seemed to take the Commission off the hook as far as the constitutional issue was concerned.

As a consequence of this amendment of the Southern Baptist petition, FCC remanded the Reorganized Mormon case to Hearing Examiner Bond, instructing him to write another Initial Decision. The Commission stipulated certain issues—whether the Reorganized Mormons were citizens within the meaning of the Communications Act, whether their program undertakings promised to subserve the public interest, etc.—but nothing about the constitutionality of their request.

Bond entertained some amended pleadings, heard some additional testimony, and finally handed up a new Initial Decision on December 21, 1950. As indicated, the Commission stipulated no issue of constitutionality. Bond nevertheless managed to find that question implied in the issue of the "public interest, convenience or necessity." After making a finding adverse to the Reorganized Church on the question of whether all the officers and directors of the applicant association were citizens as required by law, Bond went on to the issue of "whether the program proposals of the Reorganized Church . . . would be in the public interest." After analyzing the concept of "public interest" as it had always been understood by the FCC, he decided that the application of the Reorganized Church satisfied the requirement.

This would seem to have disposed of the question. But not for Mr. Bond. No, sir. Since the Supreme Court erected the wall of separation between Church and State in the *Everson* and *McCormick* decisions, Mr. Bond was determined to see that it was not breached. "One of the applicant's purposes," he wrote, is to exercise its rights under that license to foster its religious interests . . . There may be present correlation in all respects between those interests and the public interest, but we cannot decree that this applicant shall be empowered by license to construct and operate the proposed station under its stated concepts.

True, as he said, this stated concept merely "includes the purpose of fostering the church's religious interests." But "even if [that purpose] be even a small portion of the entire purpose," he declared, the license must not be issued. Bond was telling FCC not merely that it ought not grant the license, but that it could not. He even undertook to tell the Congress that it could not authorize FCC to grant such a license.

Bond supported this thesis with three arguments, based on the premise of the *Everson* decision that the

Founding Fathers sought "a government which was stripped of all power to tax to support, or otherwise to assist any or all religions, or to interfere with the beliefs of any individual or group."

1) His first argument was merely implied, i.e., that for a Government agency like FCC to grant a radio license to a religious group for religious purposes, even though such purpose be secondary and inconsequential, would be to put the Government in the position of "supporting" or "otherwise assisting" any or all religions.

2) His second argument was more ingenious. When FCC grants a license, it is under obligation to regulate its use "in the public interest, convenience or necessity." But for FCC to regulate operation of a station owned by a religious group would be, in the words just quoted from the *Everson* case, "to interfere with the beliefs of [an] individual or group."

3) Bond derived his third argument from an excerpt he quotes from the *McCormick* case. He argued:

We may not so commingle the religious interest of the Reorganized Church with

the public interest as to find harmony and thereupon ignore the First Amendment. Else we might . . . find discord in the dual concepts and precipitate the Church-State imbroglio which the Constitution was designed to avert . . .

A religious station becomes unthinkable because "anti-religious groups" might not like what it proposes to broadcast and start an "imbroglio."

These three arguments, I submit, bear with equal force against all stations operated by religious groups. Bond would presumably qualify this by saying "provided only that they broadcast religious programs." But such a qualification is obviously meaningless. A religious group wouldn't have a radio station if it didn't mean to use it, in some slight measure at least, for religious broadcasting. The last time I checked there were thirty-three such stations, counting AM and FM operations separately, eight of them operated by Catholic educational institutions.

But the mischief of this Initial Decision goes even deeper than that. In my judgment it affects religious programs on commercial stations as adversely as it affects religious stations. If this decision becomes final it will, in my opinion, outlaw all such broadcasts. That seems to be a large order, too exorbitant to be credible. But let us see.

The Federal Government would be giving unlawful "assistance" to the Reorganized Mormons, Bond says, if it enabled them to broadcast Mormon doctrine by granting them a radio license. But FCC is just as truly "assisting" the National Council of Catholic Men in enabling them to broadcast Catholic doctrine by grant-





ing the National Broadcasting Company its several licenses and permitting NBC to give radio time to NCCM for the Catholic Hour. Let it be remembered that FCC does not cease to be responsible for the use made of every minute of broadcasting time simply because it delegates that time to NBC in chunks of eighteen hours a day.

According to Bond, if FCC granted a license to the Reorganized Mormons to broadcast religious programs, its obligation to regulate in the public interest, convenience or necessity would compel it to "interfere" unconstitutionally in the affairs of this religious body. But FCC's regulatory duty follows all radio time into whatsoever hands it may be delegated or sub-delegated. If FCC permits NBC to delegate a half-hour a week to NCCM, FCC still has the statutory duty to regulate use of that time, meaning that it must regulate NCCM's use of the time. The latter is just as truly "interference" with a religious group as the former.

The applicability of Bond's third argument to religious programs on commercial stations is even clearer. If it is constitutionally incumbent upon FCC to avoid religious imbroglios by keeping Mormon programs off Mormon stations in Independence for fear

"anti-religious groups" may kick up a fuss, it would seem to be at least equally incumbent upon it to keep Catholic programs off nation-wide networks for the same reason.

Is it unthinkable that this Initial Decision should become final? I'm not so sure, certainly not any more sure than I would have been, prior to July, 1946, that the opinion handed down in the Robert Harold Scott case was unthinkable; or than I would have been, before March, 1948, that the McCollum decision was unthinkable. All I know is what is undeniably the fact at this writing, that is, that J. D. Bond's Initial Decision in the case of the Reorganized Church, *et al.*, will automatically become final and effective forty days after its release date, December 29, 1950, or on February 6, 1951, unless some objection is filed or FCC takes it up on its own motion. Very likely the Reorganized Mormons will object. But they objected a year ago, and now they get exactly the same dose, only more elaborately spelled out. They should not be left to carry the ball alone. And besides, were they now to give up in disgust and allow the Initial Decision to become effective by default, who could blame them?

## The Germans are not expendable

Friedrich Baerwald

IF THE TIMES were not so deadly serious, the complete about-face of this country on the question of German rearmament would provide ample material for a first-rate political comedy. As matters stand now, it may be the last act in a tragedy of errors. To avoid such an outcome, we must cut through the maze of side issues and analyze the military and economic conditions under which German participation in the Western defense effort can be attempted without bringing about the very disaster it is designed to avert.

With regard to the sentiment of the Germans themselves on the question of cooperating in Western defense, altogether too much significance has been read into recent state elections in Western Germany. Some observers were amazed by the apparent strength of anti-militaristic and pacifist sentiments. But this surprise springs from the false notion that all Germans are at heart "militarists." This assertion is about as correct as is the anti-American propaganda in Europe which insists that the people of the United States are all "materialists."

The core of the modern German Army was formed in the State of Prussia, which was dissolved in one of the rare unanimous decisions of the Council of Foreign Ministers after World War II. On the other hand,

*"The Germans will fight in defense of the West" . . . "Recent elections show unwillingness to fight." Because of these conflicting rumors, Dr. Baerwald, Associate Professor of Economics at Fordham's Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, here explains the reasons for the indecision of Western Germans and the terms on which they would willingly rearm.*

some of the states now comprising the West German Republic, notably Bavaria, Hanover and Hesse, were fighting against Prussia as recently as one year after the end of the American Civil War. Frankly, their military performance on that occasion was not impressive. While it is true that the German Reich founded under the leadership of Bismarck in 1871 was dominated by Prussia, it should not be forgotten that it was under that regime that the Social Democratic Party with its strong anti-militaristic emphasis gained strength rapidly. So much by way of correction of erroneous historical notions about Germany. Let us turn to the real issue involved.

Underlying the alleged lack of a sense of urgency in Western Europe, and especially in Germany, in this critical period is an attitude which must be made clear in the course of current "explorations" of German participation in the European defense set-up. To be quite blunt about it, the long and detailed discussions which have been going on here concerning plans to defend Western Europe have given Germans the impression that they are considered expendable. First, there was much stress on the strategic significance of the Iberian peninsula. When the French protested against this strategic concept, which suggested that

a second liberation was in store for them, the talk shifted to the Rhine River line. The trouble with this idea was that it still threatened the major part of Western Germany with the prospect of becoming the theatre of a war of total destruction. In deference to public opinion, the imaginary line of defense has been moved slightly towards the East. But the stress on the *defensive* character of the Atlantic forces placed under the command of General Eisenhower still seems to imply that the greater part of Western Germany would be the scene of more or less protracted *holding actions*. It should not be difficult to understand that there is little enthusiasm among Germans for a strategy which at best would prevent the Communist armies from crossing the Rhine.

But this is only part of the explanation of current German attitudes. After all, the Germans have more practical experience than any other people of the requirements of a successful war against the Soviet Union. They have not forgotten the lessons of the campaign of 1941-45. They remember that at the beginning of that campaign they had on their side all the advantages now counted on to swing the balance in favor of the West. They had air superiority, and their army was better trained and more motorized and mechanized than the Russian forces. Also, Germans are inclined to take a slightly less sanguine view of the military decisiveness of airpower than certain groups in this country. They remember well that they were exposed to saturation bombing over a long period during the last war, and that the war was won only after all Germany's territory had been occupied by the Allied armies, which had to fight their way into the country on all fronts.

One more point, regarding strength. Much has been written about the many blunders committed by Hitler in his campaign against Russia. Many of these errors, it is true, can be avoided in waging a defensive war with the limited forces planned by the Brussels Conference of last December. It is, however, more clearly understood in Germany than elsewhere that an army too small to wage *offensive war* is also insufficient to bring about final victory. A defensive campaign, which always involves relinquishing territory at the beginning, makes sense only if, at the proper moment, it can shift to the counter-offensive. In the long run this may be the way things will shape up after American forces are increased to the point where a holding action can be changed to a counter-blow. But what interests people in Western Germany is not so much the prospect of ultimate victory as the fear of being relinquished even temporarily to the armed forces of communism. If the Communists manage to establish their regime of terror and can enforce the death threats against "warmongers" contained in the new law passed by the "legislature" of the East German state, there might be few Germans left to share in the fruits of the final victory of the West.

In the light of these fundamental considerations, all the other issues being "explored" by the Allies and the Bonn Government are of secondary importance. Of

course, no one can seriously believe that the West German Government can or will agree to a status in the Atlantic Pact army which would deny German participation on an equal basis in all decision-making bodies. To ask Germans to fight under foreign divisional commanders is quite unrealistic. General Eisenhower gave evidence of realizing this when he said at Frankfurt on January 20: "I hope that someday they [the Germans] are aligned . . . squarely with the rest of us. . . . If they are, they must be on exactly the same status as all others."

There is also another angle to be considered—the economic question. So far, not enough attention has been paid to the economic implications of a German defense effort. It is true, of course, that Germany has the industrial facilities for large-scale armament production. But, unlike the United States, Western Germany does not have the raw-material resources neces-



sary for the required stepping-up of production. Furthermore, the premature introduction of a free market into Western Germany in 1948 brought about severe economic maladjustments, to the disadvantage of the large masses of industrial workers and salary earners. If the burden of a defense economy were added to the present badly unbalanced economy, there would arise severe social strains and pressures. Germany cannot participate in the defense effort unless it returns to severe rationing, price control and much higher taxes. While this may seem to be only fair, in view of the very great American effort now under way, psychologically it is one thing to impose "austerity" on a people who can look back on years of unprecedented prosperity, and another to reintroduce it into a country where the ruins of the last war are visible reminders of a nightmare just believed to be over. The inevitable conclusion is that the German industrial effort must be supported on a vast scale by American subsidies. One way to achieve this might be the immediate cancellation of the costs of occupation. But in addition to that, the inevitable deficit in the German Federal budget must be matched by dollar funds if a collapse of the currency of Western Germany is to be avoided.

The preceding discussion is not meant as an argument against the participation of Western Germany in the defense against communism. Its primary purpose is to stress the significance of the time element. The international situation demands great speed, but within this generally accelerated tempo there must be gradations. To rush Western Germany into rearmament before the American forces in Europe are brought to much more than their present strength would not add anything to the total power of the

West in relation to the available striking power of the Red army.

In our sense of great urgency this counsel of caution may be discouraging to many. It comes, however, from a writer who consistently—in these pages and elsewhere—has opposed our earlier policies toward Germany, both in the war and postwar periods. We now have to learn a bitter lesson: while it takes only a minute to change our minds on a policy after we have discovered that it should never have been carried out in the first place, we cannot erase the practical effects of such a false policy overnight. We must avoid, by all means, the danger of trying to eliminate the consequences of past mistakes by even greater future mistakes.

## Why not a Catholic press exhibit?

Richard C. Spitzer

**F**EBRUARY IS CATHOLIC PRESS MONTH. To arouse appreciation of the extent, variety and vigor of the Catholic press, and to provide easy opportunity for parishioners to subscribe, let me suggest a parish exhibit. Here are a few tips that may help to ensure success.

First of all, strive for the handsome, professional touch. Really dress up the display. You're "plugging" a good product. Show it off to advantage. If possible, use only commercially lettered signs throughout. Above all, avoid worn-out, stale samples.

Liturgically the next suggestion—concerning the location of the exhibition—may raise questions, but the rear of the church is a better spot for it than the vestibule or the school hall. In the vestibule you'll have to fight drafts that raise havoc with newspapers and magazines. Furthermore, your parishioners will be reluctant to stand around in the cold to look at your samples. Actually your pastor, or anyone else, will find little objection to use of the church if the whole display is in good taste. Since the materials are behind the congregation, they provide no distraction during Mass. Use of the church is preferable to use of the parish hall, since the church is regularly open all week.

By all means, feature the famous quotation by Pius X on the value of the Catholic press: "In vain you will build churches, preach missions, found schools; all your good works, your efforts will be destroyed, if you cannot at the same time wield the defensive and offensive weapons of a press that is Catholic, loyal and sincere." A picture of that Pontiff might be displayed with it.

Well in advance, draw up a schedule for subscription salesmen. Be sure to have somebody present be-

fore and after *every* Mass *each* Sunday during the month, seated conspicuously at a table with a large sign, "Subscriptions Taken Here." Let the exhibit take a leaf from the book of the commercial advertisers: *they make it easy* for people to spend their money. There's no air of apology needed here, either. High-pressure methods are out, of course, but the practical goal of the exhibit is to put more publications into the homes of parishioners. If the display has eye-appeal, if parishioners have an opportunity to examine at leisure many of the publications *which they have never seen*, little sales talk is needed.

Speaking of sales talk—the best will be that which comes from the priest in the pulpit. Suggest to the pastor (he'll probably think of it anyway) that the sermon on one of the four Sundays in February be devoted to the Catholic press.

Try to have free material on hand for distribution. Most publishers provide leaflets containing subscription costs and blanks which parishioners can take home to help them decide which publications they prefer. One year, *Sign* was particularly generous with slightly out-dated (but fresh) copies. We were able to put a large pile near the door with the ever-inviting words, "Take one." Every copy was taken.

When you request sample copies from the publishers, be sure to ask also for advertising and promotion materials which they can supply. Some of it (that from *Extension*, for example) is tops by any standards.

Then there's an old device but a sure eye-catcher: I refer to a large outline map of the United States on which are lettered the names of cities with outstanding Catholic publications. From the names run colored tapes to sample copies of the papers. Most parishioners are surprised to see how many Catholic periodicals of high journalistic standards there are.

For a good spot of color try covers from magazines, carefully removed, and stapled to a bulletin board. For the bulletin boards you might use several 4' x 8' sheets of insulation board. These are inexpensive and take thumb tacks and staples. By laying some of these sheets on the top of the two rear pews you can obtain space for display of pamphlets, large booklets, etc.

Needless to say, the permanent pamphlet rack should be well stocked with *fresh* material for this special occasion. You have no pamphlet rack? What better time than Catholic Press Month to install one?

If there ever was a time when the Catholic press should be known in every Catholic home, it is today. Religion is on the defensive, not only abroad, but here at home. *A Catholic who doesn't regularly read at least one Catholic review or newspaper is an ill-informed Catholic.* February, 1951 is the month for all of us to put the Catholic press in high gear.

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*Richard C. Spitzer, Curriculum Director in the School Department of Gloucester, Mass., bases these suggestions for Catholic Press Week on experience he has had with exhibits in two parishes.*



# My sister's boy-friend

Mac Giolla Patrick

THEY—YOU KNOW, THEY—seemed quite worried about my sister's boy-friend. I assured them that my sister had no boy-friend. In fact, I added that, having known my sister for more years than it would be gallant to tell, I was pretty sure that she was not in the market for a boy-friend.

Anyway I said, knowing my sister, I was sure that she would marry nobody but a fine upstanding Catholic who would be able to support her in the style she was accustomed to—which is not a very pretentious style, at that.

They still seemed unhappy about my sister and her possible boy-friend. Then it came out. "Suppose," They said, "she marries a Negro."

"Suppose," I answered, "you tell me how this conversation got sidetracked into a discussion of my sister. We were talking about segregation, racial housing covenants, fair employment practices and things like that."

"Don't you see?" They said. "If we abolish segregation and let Negroes and whites ride in the same coaches and eat in the same restaurants and work side by side and live in the same parts of town, why then, your sister—or anybody's sister—might meet up with some rather pleasant, good-looking Negro and, why, there you are!"

"I have yet to hear," said I, "of any law that compels a woman to marry the first, or the fifty-first, man who asks her. If our sisters do not want to marry Negroes, they have merely to say No when asked. Nor is there any sign that the supply of eligible white bachelors is running low. There are ten white people in this country for every Negro, you know."

"But suppose some do want to marry Negroes?"

"So far as I can see, they have a right to," said I. "The right to choose one's partner for life is a God-given personal right, and I don't see what standing you or I have to interfere with our sisters' freedom in the matter. You seem to be asking me, gentlemen, to restrict my sister's freedom in every possible way—to set up laws that forbid her to sit beside a Negro on a train or streetcar, or in a theatre, or to eat at the same table as a Negro in a restaurant, or to eat in the same restaurant or even to live on the same block as a Negro. And you want me to do all this in

*Mac Giolla Patrick is a New Yorker of Irish background. He writes under a pen name because 1) he does have a sister and 2) he has hinted that she is past her teens.*

order to prevent my sister from doing something that I have no right to prevent her from doing, something that she has a God-given and inalienable right to do.

"One thing more, gentlemen. I know that in some parts of the country you have had your way. Some of our States have laws forbidding marriages between whites and Negroes and declaring them invalid. Now, speaking as among Catholics, such laws, as applied to Catholics, are an invasion of the rights of the Catholic Church. The Church alone has the right to put invalidating impediments in the way of marriage of Catholics."

"But," said They, "Catholics will get into trouble if they don't observe those laws."

"Catholics are in trouble already over laws that invade the rights of the Church. Allow me to bring to your attention one prominent Catholic who is very much in trouble because he believes that the State should not invade the rights of the Church. His name is Cardinal Mindszenty."

"But you have to admit," They persisted, "that even where interracial marriages are quite legal, they are very unwise."

"In what way?" I asked.

"Well, for one thing, the children. They are neither white nor black."

"There is no such thing in American life," I replied, "as neither white nor black. If you have any Negro blood at all, you are a Negro. The children will simply be Negroes. If you are going to discourage whites and Negroes from intermarrying because their children will have a hard time when they grow up, you should discourage Negroes from marrying among themselves, because *their* children will have the same kind of a hard time."

"But the partners in an interracial marriage will have such a hard time that they will be under constant strain, and can have no real social life. Their white friends would not receive them any more."

"First of all," I said, "when two Catholics enter into marriage, not frivolously, but seriously, they can rely upon the sacramental graces of marriage to strengthen them in whatever trials arise. We must not underestimate the power of God's grace."

"And secondly, take my sister, whom we began with. If she married a Negro, just *who* would not receive her socially? People she never knew before? Or people like you—her friends and mine? It seems to me, gentlemen, that you would be a great deal more honest with yourselves if you said to my sister and your sisters: 'If you marry Negroes, you are in for trouble—because *we* are going to make trouble for you.'"

"If it comes to that," said They, "there is no law that compels us to receive anybody socially. If we don't like the idea of your sister marrying a Negro, we are not bound to accept her in our social circle."

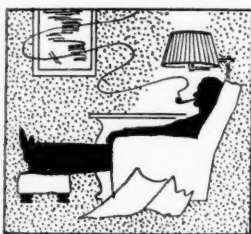
"You have something there," I said. "Apart from the law of Christian charity—Christ's command to love your neighbor as yourself—there seems to be no law on the matter. But I have one further question: *Why*

don't you like the idea of my sister marrying a Negro? A little while ago you said you didn't like it because she would be socially ostracized; now you say you will ostracize her because you don't like it.

"Would you say that you don't like it because there is a natural antipathy between the races? If that is so, what is the need for all this elaborate structure of segregation and racial housing covenants and laws against intermarriage? If there is a natural antipathy, white people will simply refuse to marry Negroes, and there's an end on't. You don't need laws to prevent people doing what they don't want to do anyway.

"I think it is time, gentlemen, that you argued the case for segregation—such as it is—on its own merits, and stopped taking refuge behind the skirts of your sisters."

## FEATURE "X"



DEAR READER: *Are you one of the readers of AMERICA who get the feeling every now and then—and sometimes tell us so—that "AMERICA's good, all right, but it's too heavy"? If so, what I have to say will be welcome news.*

We are going to introduce a new feature in our pages which we hope will add some Worcestershire sauce to the strong meat of our regular departments. Until it gets a name, let's call it "Feature X."

The purpose of this innovation is to make AMERICA more interesting and even, we think, more useful. The general characteristics of "X" will be *informality* and *variety*.

By informality, we mean simply that what we intend to publish in the new department will not have to be as serious, either in substance or in treatment, as our regular articles. As things stand, we occasionally publish an article with the lighter touch, like Robert John Bayer's delightful "Anything can happen in New York" (AM. 11/18, p. 189). Such pieces belong in our pages, but they ought to be set off from the standard AMERICA article. For one thing, unless we set up a department for them, you have to start reading these lighter articles in order to find out that they *are* different. Wouldn't it be nice to have them labeled? If you were tired after a hard day at the office or about the house or in the classroom, you could be pretty sure that you could take off your thinking cap, relax and find in "Feature X" something rather diverting. After this "pickup" you'd be ready to page through the rest of the book to see what's in it—maybe for later reading.

As for variety, we *know* there are lots of things that could go into "X" for which we have no space in our present make-up. Readers write us privately to ask rather interesting questions which we answer, or at least try to answer, privately. Many of you would probably be as interested in seeing the question aired as the original inquirer. A Catholic teacher in the public schools, for example, recently wrote that she and others like her had formed a group to study issues relating to public education which are of special concern to Catholics, *e.g.*, Federal aid to education. But they had run into some opposition among Catholics who thought that this "separatism" was in conflict with the ideals of the Christopher movement. The Christophers stress the importance of Catholic participation in non-Catholic groups, on an individual basis. What did we think?

We already try our hand at brief sports comments from time to time. If we had a place to do it, we could devote a little more space to sports.

Or maybe a member of the staff comes home and says that he has met a real "character," some lay person who knows *exactly* what's wrong with Catholic education, or Sunday sermons, or AMERICA—or the world at large. His opinions might well be worth relaying to our readers. After all, there is some pretty clever philosophizing by people who can *talk* brilliantly, but can't *write*. They need a Boswell to record their sayings, and we need a corner where we can Boswellize for them.

We have some unusually well-informed visitors at Campion House, too. We couldn't write a standard AMERICA article after spending an evening with them, and we can't very well repeat their ideas as our own editorial opinion. If we had the spot for that type of writing, however, we could give you an informal version of what they had to say.

Fr. Conway holds meetings of America's Associates from time to time—in Syracuse, or Utica, or Toledo, or New Orleans or elsewhere. He might like to tell you once in a while what the Associates are doing, what use they are putting AMERICA to, what reception they get when they try to get their friends interested in becoming regular subscribers.

There's a whole field of possible comment on television, radio, what's appearing in other periodicals, what's happening to books that we reviewed. In the case of really important books, it's very interesting to see what happens—who is assigned to review them, how party lines emerge, how an ordinary book becomes a cult or a good book dies out fast.

Will "Feature X" be open to our readers and to other contributors? Surely. We might publish in it longer letters to the editor, perhaps letters that we solicit. We might rig up a debate on some interesting topic that doesn't involve our basic editorial policies. We aren't a "forum" magazine, but "Feature X" could occasionally present a forum feature.

Of course, we aren't going to let it become an editorial "rumpus room." But it won't be as buttoned

up as the rest of AMERICA, either. Let's put it this way: we hope you won't know exactly what to expect there, but that you'll like what you find.

The new feature will not necessarily appear every week. Its length will vary from about a page to two pages. Sometimes it may be only a column; occasionally two pages or more. It will not be filled with tidbits but will be devoted to one, possibly two, topics.

## Agnes Repplier: tea-table autocrat

Charles A. Brady

AGNES REPPLIER was America's last autocrat of the tea table, but not, one hastens to add, autocrat of the kind of mad tea table over which Carroll's Hatter presided. There was nothing remotely approaching madness about Miss Repplier, even though she happened to have been born on April Fool's Day ninety-six years ago (1855) this coming April 1. The gracious Philadelphia chatelaine of American letters belonged to an earlier century than the Hatter's anyway.

Like the eighteenth century she so admired, Agnes Repplier was the delicate quintessence of sound sense and sounder sensibility: too sheerly feminine to condescend to nonsense, too utterly *gentille*—French was always her favorite language—to feel at home in the raucous twentieth century in which, nevertheless, she spent fifty of her well nigh ninety-six years (she died on December 15, 1950).

Way back in 1936 Ellery Sedgwick, hailing Miss Repplier for what she was, a tutelary deity of the *Atlantic Monthly*, called her "a sort of contemporary ancestor." The operative word here is "ancestor," not "contemporary"; for she was never really coeval with the age in which she lived. Not even when, a strong-minded little girl in pantalettes and pinafore, she played the role of Peck's Bad Girl in old Quaker Philadelphia. It must have been a bit of a feat to have introduced cigarettes into a convent school only two years after the Civil War ended. But Miss Agnes pulled it off. The nuns expelled her, of course, after only four terms. The measure of their forbearance is highlighted by the fact that she lasted but three terms at Miss Irwin's Penn Square Academy.

*Haec olim meminisse iuvabit*. For a while the old-fashioned little rebel was left to her own intellectual resources, which consisted, in large part, of brooding over the dark Byronics of *Manfred*. But school would stir once more in the clear pool of memory—with Miss Repplier, unlike the case of more creative writers, memory was never a dark well. In *Our Convent Days* is a Brontëan record of the Angria that moves behind the school books, a fragrant memoir of high-spirited, happy childhood slipping across the frontier of Arca-

Now about the name. "After Hours" or "On the Veranda" catch the general idea pretty well. It isn't going to be too easy to latch onto a good title because of the variety of things we intend to publish. It will have the range, let's say, of *good conversation*. We will give \$25 to whoever suggests the title we adopt. Whatever it is christened, we do hope that you will like the baby.

ROBERT C. HARTNETT

## LITERATURE AND ARTS

dia. Winners of Laetare medals hardly achieve these accolades for rebellion against Church institutions; and Miss Repplier's tender narrative is invariably respectful. Nevertheless, one cannot afford to overlook her French heredity. In the formal garden of the Gallic mind Rabelais' Abbey of Thélème always stands next to the Convent of the Sacred Heart. Miss Repplier, like Hilaire Belloc, is a graduate of both academies.

But Miss Repplier was by no means all French. Underneath the Gallic salt of her stylistics and the astringent irony of her paternal heritage lay the strong pumpernickel sardonicism of a distaff side which was as German as H. L. Mencken's. Nor is Mencken idly invoked in this context. Baltimore, after all, is not so very far from Philadelphia as the crow flies. In the bracing climate of her strong spinster's mind, Miss Repplier has always seemed to me strangely close to the angry Sage of the booboisie—once the necessary allowances have been made, needless to say. There is something akin in the uncompromising asperity of their wit and in a common wild Gothic streak. If Miss Repplier's sense of form suggests, as it does, silver inkwell and quill pen, it is not only *la plume de ma tante*, Madame de Sévigné, and the Victorian nib of Master Copperfield's aunt, the bonneted Miss Trotwood, but also the leaky Waterman of the *Mercury's* irascible Dutch uncle.

One can, however, pursue this trend of thought too far. In the main, Miss Repplier's pillared Ciceronian sensibility was the product of a more spacious day than ours. She would have been at home at Abbotsford or Edgeworthstown, visiting Walter Scott's wee "whipety stourie" friend, diminutive Maria Edgeworth. For all her firm originality of mind and sovereign independence of personality, there was always something of the bluestocking about her, though never the slightest trace of the *précieuse ridicule*. Her own library was



her favorite forum, the tranquil esplanade of her election. Her major inspirations were books, not men, even if her biographies of Mère Marie and Père Marquette place her among the definitive historians of America's Catholic origins.

In the end, however, Miss Repplier's literary immortality will depend on the staying qualities of her many essays. It is difficult to realize that, except for Lamb and Hazlitt, her life span coincided with and lapped over the life spans of the greater nineteenth- and twentieth-century personal essayists: Stevenson, Chesterton, Beerbohm, Belloc. One way of visualizing this Methuselah course of years—one more than Shaw's even—is to locate her in the time continuum of exterior event. Her child's hand locked in her father's larger one, Miss Repplier gazed on Lincoln's cortège. She was staying in London the night John Henry Newman died. She reckoned James Russell Lowell, Henry James and Andrew Lang among her familiar acquaintances. She once drank whisky out of a Camden tooth-glass with Walt Whitman—no mean essayist himself.

Just where do her better than seven decades of unremitting essay production rank her in the stream of the English essay? She cannot, in the last analysis, stand with the greater British masters of her chosen genre: Lamb, Hazlitt, Stevenson, Chesterton, Beerbohm. To recur to the eighteenth century again, there was about her work, from the beginning, a kind of démodé elegance, a sort of Addisonian average excellence which allied it to the marmoreal purity of the *Spectator* rather than to the rich sucking-pig juices of Lamb's cockney personality. In a certain real sense she was already old-fashioned when she started. The *Atlantic* rocked her in the cradle of its post-transcendental deep; and the good fairies who bestowed literary gifts at her christening were the bearded worthies of New England, chief among them that latter-day Jove of American bookmen, James Russell Lowell.

At a respectable distance in the background hovered also two clean-shaven visitants among those hirsute others: Emerson and Thoreau. One might say that the stream of the American essay divided into two around those Concord rocks. On one side continued to flow the placid bookish reaches of Irving and Lowell and Thomas Bailey Aldrich; on the other the swifter, narrower reaches of Thoreau particularly.

On the whole, Miss Repplier's muse stayed indoors with Lowell's. On occasion, though, it would venture out with Thoreau's for a country stroll. Like him, for all her respect for tradition, she admired "the mountain nymph, sweet Liberty." Like him, she was an unreconstructed individualist. Add an angostura dash of the old American humorous periodical, *Puck*, and you have complete the components of Miss Repplier's essay prescription. The ingredients are identifiable, as are most literary pharmaceuticals. But they were ground in a magic pestle. The resultant product is unmistakably her individual own. By any possible computation, Miss Repplier stands high among the major American essayists.

Agnes Repplier's obituary notices, which award her the honorary title of *doyenne* of living essayists, pose a pretty problem in metaphysics: can one be a Dean without a Faculty? For the gentle art of the familiar essay appears in danger of extinction. Bacon's English kitchen garden of essay herbs and simples is being sold up for death dues. The bosky coverts of old Montaigne's stag park no longer offer shelter to the *cerf agile* of personal whimsy. They have been leveled for cheerless Existentialist fagots that will not even offer a momentary warmth to the derelicts of war in this, our grim wolf-age of the soul.

There are, of course, critics who will argue that the secular snake has merely cast its skin, and that only the essay's form has changed, leaving its essence intact. The demurral is partly true. The snake *has* sloughed its diamond skin.

But it is a different kind of snake nowadays; one possessed of the knowledge of Good and Evil. No longer the green spring snakes Emerson saw sliding up and down the sun-warmed hollow near Fresh Pond—for no clear purpose that he

could make out, "not to eat, not for love, but only gliding." The fun of the personal essay used to be in the gliding. Today the essay feels it must justify its existence by deferring either to yogi or commissar. It shudders at the very thought of essay merely for essay's sake.

Perhaps it is the times which are to blame, this political winter of our ideological discontent. There is scant room for rueful self-revelation within the narrow cell of Marxian dialectic or the penitential cubicle of Augustinian introspection. The world is become like C. S. Lewis' Narnia in *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*, a place where it is always winter and never Christmas. And summer—Spengler's and Toynbee's summer, that is—is the time for reading and writing essays. Sweet-swinked summer is herself an essay mood annihilating the lazing personality to a green thought in a green shade, a time for vagrant ideas that come and go like random eddies of air, for fireflies' green intimations in the greener grass of summer twilight, for sleepy seagull images that are not quite poetry but on the moist sea-marge of poetry. It is a season, in a word, for the relaxed hammock strings of essay which, tautened but a trifle, tighten into the twanging bow of poetry. When, if ever, shall we recover those long, long days of reverie?

Not very soon, one fears. It is easier to recapture the primitive dream that is poetry than the civilized day-dream that is familiar essay. This past November marked the centenary of a superb essayist's birth. It is instructive to remark how Stevenson felt about the intensity of attention essay-reading demands: "In anything fit to be called by the name of reading, the process itself should be absorbing and voluptuous;



we should gloat over a book, be rapt clean out of ourselves..." When shall we again have time for this particular form of *voluptas*? Again, in dreary resignation, Echo moans: Not very soon. The kind of essay prose, which, for Hazlitt, found its proper objective correlative in a roast chicken and a bottle of wine beside an inn fire after a tingling walk has long since yielded to the driving functional pistons of Shaw's prefaces and Orwell's manifestos.

There are exceptions, of course. In his Italian exile the incomparable Max can still, on occasion, turn out a flawless trifle from his Beerbohm lathe. Only two Christmases ago Bernard De Voto tossed off a dithyramb to the green-gold glory of a Martini that should go down in anthologies for years to come. Many an exasperated American pastor will insist that Ronald Knox's sermons are, rather, essays. And there is always E. B. White.

Week by week the editor of the *New Yorker's* "Talk of the Town" issues a disarmingly perfect little pronunciamento on the foibles of contemporary man that is, at one and the same time, as pithy as Thoreau, and as American as birchbeer drunk at firemen's picnics. And, to boot, as atmospheric as a summer thunderstorm. If you want to convince yourself that the familiar essay is not wholly dead, try chawing the tough bucolics of *One Man's Meat*. Its ruminant cuds of clover have the delayed kick of good hard cider. Mr. White is our best—Irwin Edman insists our only—essayist.

There are other contributory reasons for the decline of the personal essay. It is somehow implicated with the parallel decline of personal journalism. Where are the Brouns and Morleys, the Adamses and Marquises of yesteryear? And do not, if you please, feebly expostulate that the Peglers and Ruarks are their equiva-

lents. They are not. Except for the political peeping toms and gazetist tom cats who spy on Glio in undress—and are paid roundly for their voyeurism—personal journalism has yielded to the vivid anonymity of *Time*. For literary *causerie*, read Cerf's book gossip. Since the death of William Rose Benét, *The Phoenix* has not risen resurgent from its *Nest*.

Meanwhile Agnes Repplier is gone to her own particular Elysium where the spinster daughters of Minerva sip their tea and work their samplers and comment on past vicissitudes throughout the long amaranthine afternoons. Miss Cather is there and Miss Jewett. There Agnes pours for Jane while both turn a polite ear to those intenser maiden ladies, the American and British Emilies. What Winifred Welles so gallantly wrote of the Protestant Misses Dickinson and Brontë is not at all inapplicable to our Catholic Miss Repplier:

Both loved uncluttered solitude,  
Tasks comely, clean and brave,  
Strict thought, the rigorous word, the mood  
As angular as a grave.

Immortals both, yet neither one  
Despised her human day—  
Oh, exquisite Miss Dickinson,  
Oh, valiant Miss Brontë!

Oh, exquisitely valiant Miss Repplier! Your gracious gaiety in life, now that you are timely dead, forces one into a kind of shamefaced whimsy. Mère Marie, Fra Junipero, Père Marquette are your escorts, not your subjects, now. May there also greet you, on the threshold whither you have gone, the little furry ghost of Agrippina of whom you wrote fifty-one long years ago: "Sleep sweetly in the fields of asphodel and waken, as of old, to stretch thy languid length, and purr thy soft contentment to the skies."

## Atom horror; island idyl

### WE OF NAGASAKI

By Takashi Nagai. Duell, Sloan & Pearce. 189p. \$2.75

### A BREATH OF AIR

By Rumer Godden. Viking. 280p. \$3

These two books are entirely and startlingly different in theme, style and impact on the reader, and so it may seem a little foolish to attempt to review them as companion pieces. Actually, though, each acts as a foil to the other, because one is the account of how life almost literally became hell for hundreds of thousands on one cataclysmic day, and the other is the story of how idyllic life might possibly be on some far-off isle secure from an atomic armageddon.

Dr. Nagai has collected the accounts of eight survivors of the Nagasaki atom bombing. Each account is given in the actual words of the narrator, unadorned, with no pretenses to literary style. The accounts given by the older people are naturally more reasoned and introspec-

tive, whereas the telling by the youngsters in the group is naive and all the more poignant in the revelation of incomprehensible horror. Says little Makoto, for example, ten at the time of the bombing:

What a sight! The biggest thing I ever saw, the biggest thing that ever was, was sticking way up in the sky from the other side of the mountain. It was like a cloud but it was like a pillar of fire too. It looked hard and soft and alive and dead all at the same time, and beautiful and ugly, too, all at once. . . . It kept getting taller and taller all the time, and wider and wider, twisting and rolling around just like smoke from a chimney. It was growing from the top, I mean, the top was getting pushed up from inside. . . . After a few minutes I saw something coming up the road along the river that looked like a parade of roast chickens. Some of them kept asking for "Water! Water!" I wasn't burning up any more. I shivered. I ran back to the cottage.

This is the tone of many of the accounts, and their cumulative effect is one of almost intolerable heartbreak.

It is of considerable interest to Catholic readers that Dr. Nagai and all he interrogated for this account are Catholics.

## BOOKS

There are frequent references to recitation of the rosary during the awful hours and to other manifestations of a lively faith. Dr. Nagai was a professor of radiology, but chronic leukemia, contracted during laboratory work and aggravated by wartime conditions and his wounds under the bombing, forced him to retire. In 1948 he became bed-ridden. It would appear that this most moving book was written by Dr. Nagai in that pitiable condition—which further adds to its poignance.

Dr. Nagai did not compile this book, however, merely to detail the unbelievable physical agonies the bomb unleashed. These, he says, may be surmountable. But "the spiritual wreckage, which the visitor to Nagasaki's wastes does not see,

that is indeed beyond repair." You will have to read the accounts fully to appreciate what that spiritual wreckage is.

The day may come when the immediate decision will have to be taken whether to loose the atom bomb again. A decision to do so may, indeed, be justified, but such a book as this ought to be meditated on and prayed about by our policy-makers if we, in using it again, would not suffer greater spiritual wreckage than even its physical victims.

To turn to Rumer Godden's exquisite tale after the horrible actualities of Nagasaki, is indeed to draw a breath of sweet and bracing—if never-never-landish—air.

Two flying Englishmen are forced down near an unnamed South Sea island ruled by a self-exiled Scotsman (he is really a member of the peerage) who plays benevolent despot over the unspoiled natives. His marriagable daughter is the only white woman on the island and, since she has recently been plaguing her father with brooding questions about what life and love mean, he sees a providential chance to do a little match-making, though pretending that he will give such silliness no countenance.

All, of course, works out well in what the publishers not ineptly call a modern *Tempest*. There is a minor tragedy; a bit of social commentary creeps in through the ambitions of an island youth to modernize his people and their customs (he got most of his wildly confused ideas by studying ads in some high-pressure American magazines that found their way into the Eden); but the tale is to be read almost exclusively with delight for its sunny humor, its lovely, dreamy descriptions, and with a heartfelt sigh of thanks that the "two on an island" theme does not, as it might in the hands of a lesser writer, degenerate into an affair of sarongs (or less) and passionate moonlit amours.

While realizing that life cannot be lived in faery lands, one can hardly resist the temptation to cry out to Filipino, the hopeful young bringer-of-civilization, to cease and desist, lest he bring, in the wake of the "civilization" he pants for, the atom bomb and bequeath to this island the fate of Nagasaki.

HAROLD C. GARDINER

### How important is Titoism?

#### TITO AND GOLIATH

By Hamilton Fish Armstrong. Macmillan. 312p. \$3.50.

Support of Tito is either a tactic or a thesis. AMERICA has editorially supported aid to the Yugoslav Government as a tactic, justified at this juncture of national peril, designed to deter Soviet aggression against Western Europe. At the same time, AMERICA has called attention to a thesis being promoted in influential circles that what the peoples of Eastern Eu-

rope want is not any Western-style democracy but a national egalitarian communism of the Titoist type. Hamilton Fish Armstrong would seem to have joined the proponents of that treacherous thesis. Mr. Armstrong, it should promptly be reported, is a respectable anti-Communist according to his lights.

As an account of the Yugoslav Communist Party's break with the Kremlin and of its aftermath, *Tito and Goliath* is an interesting record, written with manifest sympathy for the Belgrade regime. The seriousness of the threat to Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe from Tito's truculence, however, is exaggerated. Certainly, the importance of the Titoists purged in the satellite countries is magnified beyond belief. Does Mr. Armstrong really think that, say, Wladyslaw Gomulka of Poland or Vladimir Clementis of Czechoslovakia—routine hack types of international conspirators—will eventually lead their liberated countries? Does he believe that the contrived "trials" of Laszlo Rajk in Hungary and Traicho Kostov in Bulgaria were a sign of Soviet weakness? The evidence is clearer that the Soviets are more firmly in the saddle in the satellites as a result of the purges. Incidentally, Mr. Armstrong neglects altogether, in his attempt to attribute all Communist defections in Eastern Europe to Titoism, the historic fears of Germany in the hearts of Poles and Czechs, fears aggravated by the Soviet policy of building up Eastern Germany.

Believing that "Americans have built their society on the premise that there is no absolute truth in human affairs and that the way to make progress is to debate differences," Mr. Armstrong comes perilously close to arguing that a communism of the non-Soviet, non-imperialist variety would not be especially reprehensible. The expectation that a Belgrade-type of communism somehow will satisfy the ideals and desires of the workers and peasants of Eastern Europe is a dangerous and demeaning delusion. It would seem to be the product of an academic mind that can write, after the Korean war was under way: "Nobody can prove, of course, that the Chinese Communist movement will not remain strongly nationalist or that, if so, it may not draw close to other Communist nationalists, to Moscow's great disadvantage." General Wu in his speeches at Lake Success made the proof more difficult to attempt—or even envision.

It was distressing to see the Foreign Policy Association, a year ago, sponsoring a Headline Book, *Eastern Europe Today*, which proposed the thesis of Titoism as the way of the future for the satellites. It is dismaying to find Hamilton Fish Armstrong, editor of *Foreign Affairs*, the influential quarterly of the Council of Foreign Relations, beguiled by the same thesis.

EDWARD DUFF

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## Neglected masters of style

### ELIZABETHAN RECUSANT PROSE 1559-1582

By A. C. Southern. Sands. 553p. \$7.50.

For the past twenty years, ever since the appearance of R. W. Chambers' memorable work on the continuity of English prose, there has been a marked need for scholarly investigation into those sixteenth-century prose writers who were the inheritors of the tradition of Thomas More. That need has now been ably and admirably fulfilled by Professor Southern's present volume on the Recusant writers of the first half of Elizabeth's reign.

This is not to claim that Southern's work is or claims to be definitive. Quite the contrary. The field, even as it is limited by the author's thesis (he confines his study to what was written and printed between 1559 and 1582), is far too vast. But, even thus limited, it has been a field relatively unknown and until recently almost wholly unexplored. Professor Southern's research has opened up a new territory in the study of the history of English prose, and his work—for all its "introductory" nature—becomes the indispensable guide for all future scholars interested in the period or genre. This in itself is a scholarly achievement of the first magnitude.

But many scholars and nearly all laymen may question the intrinsic importance of the work of these Recusant prose writers. Of the names Professor Southern introduces, only that of Campion will be familiar to the many, those of Allen and Heywood (Jasper, the son of old John Heywood, famous for his interludes) familiar to a few, and those of Stapleton, Rainolds (William) and Persons familiar to very few indeed or to none at all. And yet these men, the latter no less than the former, were every bit as competent in their depth of scholarship, brilliance of wit, seriousness of purpose and in the execution of their prose as were Taylor or Browne or Donne or many of those more familiar writers who came after them and worked on the opposite side of the theological curtain.

These men, too long unacknowledged, extended, as Professor Southern patiently demonstrates, the art and scope of the English language. They were writers concerned, not as their contemporaries Lyly and Sydney were concerned, with literary effects, but with simple straightforward exposition of moral, religious and theological matters. (But, one must keep in mind, in the sixteenth century theology was more literary, and literature more theological, than is possible for the modern mind easily to understand.) Consequently, the emphasis of the rhetoric of these Recusant writers was upon logic and construction rather than on elocution and ornament, and so the importance of

their place in the history of English prose style—between the simplicity of More and the directness of Dryden—is far greater than, for example, the pretty eccentricities of the Euphuists and Arcadians.

One wonders, then, why these writers have until now been so strangely neglected. They have, of course, suffered from prejudice and bigotry, but this has not been the whole explanation or even a major part of an explanation. From the very beginning, the books these men wrote were hard to come by: they had to be printed either abroad or in secret and were of necessity circulated surreptitiously; and certainly in a Protestantized nation one would not expect them to be as popular or as common as those of their religious opponents. Again, they were books which, because they were chiefly controversial and theological, were in a few generations easily forgotten as the fires of controversy were banked and interest in theology waned. Finally, Catholic scholars themselves must assume much of the responsibility for their neglect.

Professor Southern's work will do much to remedy that neglect, since it not only represents in itself a positive contribution to Elizabethan scholarship, but is an invitation and a stimulus to other Catholic scholars to follow Southern's lead and to help in establishing even more definitively the bounds and nature of that tradition which is in a very proper sense their own.

KEVIN SULLIVAN

### NEWMAN AT OXFORD: His Religious Development

By R. D. Middleton. Oxford. 284p. \$5.

Yet another book about Newman. It is difficult to keep them in print. They do not differ much from each other although each one claims to have new material. This book prints for the first time a long correspondence which has been gathering dust in the archives of Oriel College for over eighty years. The volume contains nothing new, but as the writers are Newman, Pusey and Hawkins, it reveals the feeling of these men for one another soon after the publication of the *Eirenicon* that supplied the occasion for the exchange of letters.

The author, who is an Anglican, does not write a word which might arouse Catholic resentment. Perhaps this is the weakness of the book, which seems to reflect the lassitude which has fallen on everything English. He does in the most careful and engaging way exactly what he promises. He traces Newman's religious development during the thirty years he was at Oxford. His only comment seems to be that Newman was an outstanding example of the triumph of failure. He was emotionally unable to survive his repudiation by Oxford and by the bishops. He had built up a more or less imaginative

ideal of the Catholic Church with which the Anglicanism of his day could not be reconciled. His repudiation by the Catholic hierarchy was quite as decisive. There was no work that he was thought fitted to do.

How, then, explain the outstanding position he now occupies in the hearts of persons of all beliefs? The author seems to answer that this is due to his awakening of the spiritual resources of the Anglican Church, and also to suggest that he did something similar for "the intellectual element of the Roman Catholic laity." This answer is quite inadequate. The word "Oxford" offers a clue. How many ordinary persons have ever heard of the name of anyone living in that city since Newman left it one hundred years ago? How many have heard of anyone who lived there before he came? Today Oxford looks more like a place where they make automobiles than a seat of learning. Littlemore is being engulfed in a desert of jerry-built houses. Oxford died spiritually with Newman and only lives spiritually through his memory.

The Oxford Movement has moved away from the principles that he laid down for it, and has been replaced by the dominant Modernist school. Newman has ceased to belong to parties or loyalties. He has taken his place with the immortals, a universal possession. He was ahead of his time and spoke to those who did

## SHEPHERD OF UNTENDED SHEEP

The Life of  
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By Raoul Plus, S.J.

This account of the life and work of Venerable John Martin Moye, the first biography to appear in English, is a fascinating story of high courage and indomitable faith. Shortly after founding the Sisters of Divine Providence he was called upon to leave his young congregation and spend ten years as a missionary in the interior of China. He gave himself to the constant preaching of the Word, to the formation of the clergy, to the relief of poverty, and to most tedious journeys wherever souls were to be saved.

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not understand him. He suffered the penalty of all who see into the future. It was for us rather than his contemporaries that he wrote. His place in history is not due to his being a poet, a philosopher or even a saint, but because he has enriched the notion of the City of God.

EDWARD HAWKS

### From the Editor's shelf

THE WISDOM OF THE SANDS, by Antoine de Saint-Exupery, translated by Stuart Gilbert (Harcourt, \$4). Through a desert King's reflections, musings, parables, philosophizing, the author conveys his thought in a work which seems more of

a notebook than a book. *Thomas J. M. Burke* has found it to be peculiarly formless, since the stories, meditations, theories have no internal sequence and are jumbled together. The promise of the title and the author are unfulfilled, even though the volume does contain some pages of excellence in thought and style.

THE MAJESTIC LAND PEAKS, PARKS & PREVARICATORS OF THE ROCKIES & HIGHLANDS OF THE NORTHWEST, by Eric Thane (Bobbs-Merrill, \$4) is a restful, pleasant verbal trip along the crest of the Continental Divide and down into the fascinating valleys below. It is an unhurried account of Yellowstone Park, Old Faithful

Geyser, Banff, Glacier National Park, etc., as the author stops at each interesting place to make the acquaintance of local people of the present as well as out of the past. Reviewer *William N. Bischoff* says that the book is not completely accurate history but, as a travel guide, it is a reasonably satisfying introduction to the Majestic Land of America's burgeoning Northwest.

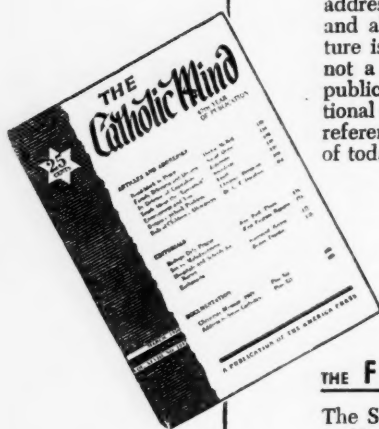
ELLA GUNNING, by Mary Deasy (Little, Brown, \$3). This is the story of a young girl who rises to great heights through her excellent voice and very hard work, the account of her marriage and her sorrows and joys. It is a decent book, says *Catherine D. Gause*, in which the intimate business of courtship and marital relationships are handled with grace and accorded the sacredness due them. The book, although it lacks a certain warmth, should appeal to many, and particularly to those readers interested in the various facets of the musical world.

INVASION, 1944, by Lieut. Gen. Dr. Hans Speidel (Regnery, \$2.75). The author was Rommel's chief of staff and was in actual command of the Wehrmacht when the Allies landed in Normandy. Here is an able account of that campaign, which is recommended by *Roger Shaw* as an excellent companion piece to the new Rommel biography.

LOST HOMECOMING, by Harry Harrison Kroll (Coward-McCann, \$3) presents the conflict between the oppressed, poverty-stricken tenant farmer and the wealthy landowner, from the viewpoint of the tenant farmer. It tells the story of a sharecropper's son who, after achieving success, returns to his home town for a great welcome, only to realize that the old barriers of caste are still maintained. In reviewing the book, *Hugh F. Smith* finds the strong emphasis on sex, the undignified treatment of marriage and the rather primitive attitude of the author distasteful, and the novel as a whole unsavory.

LIFE OF AN AMERICAN WORKMAN, by Walter P. Chrysler in collaboration with Boyden Sparkes (Dodd, Mead, \$3). Written first as a series of articles appearing in the *Saturday Evening Post*, this compilation tells the story of the son of a Kansas City locomotive engineer who by dint of his own initiative became a millionaire and the founder of the Chrysler Corporation. *Philip A. Carey, S.J.*, commends this story of resourcefulness and of initiative, and its feeling for the sense of responsibility of American management to its fellow partners, the workers, and to the community it serves. He regrets, however, that no mention is made of the Automobile Workers and that the bitter struggle they waged for recognition is passed over in silence.

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THE AGE OF SCANDAL, by T. H. White (Putnam's, \$3). From authentic sources, largely letters and diaries of the famous and the unknown, the author fits together a lively commentary on the second half of the eighteenth century. The subjects of the personal portraits are numerous and varied: the royal family, the aristocracy, the dilettanti, Grub Street. However, in the opinion of *Michael F. Moloney*, for the initiated this work will not replace the more scholarly treatments of the social, political and religious aspects of the age, nor can it compete with the present spate of historical novels. What promised to be a scintillating essay descends to a gossipy chronicle with a smoking-room flavor.

## THE WORD

"Lord," he said, "give me back my sight." Jesus said to him, "Receive thy sight; thy faith has brought thee recovery" (Luke 18:41, Quinquagesima Sunday).

I shall never forget the Jenny story. She was a blind girl who ran an office-building cigar counter in a port town during the war. An alarm had gone out about a fire near the big ammunition dump across the harbor, and everyone was taking cover wherever he could. The confusion was terrible. But Jenny was imperturbable. In a cellar of her office building she organized a huge sing-song and prevented a panic that might have cost several lives.

With the fire out and the danger past, the local papers lost themselves in admiration and amazement. Blindness, they had expected, would only make a person more confused and frightened in a crisis.

"Oh, I don't know," said Jenny to one reporter, "I can see some things much better since I lost my sight. I knew God was there with us and that he had control of everything. I would have felt silly getting frightened with such a good, strong Friend beside me."

Somehow I am always reminded of the Jenny story when I read the story in this

CHARLES A. BRADY, chairman of the English Department at Canisius College, Buffalo, is a weekly book columnist for the *Buffalo Evening News* and winner of the Archbishop Cushing Award for Poetry, 1949.

KEVIN SULLIVAN is at present doing graduate work in English at Columbia University.

MSGR. EDWARD HAWES, educated in England and Canada, is pastor at St. Joan of Arc Church in Philadelphia.

morning's gospel of how Our Lord healed the blind man and told him it was his faith that made him see again. Though it was God's plan that Jenny should remain in physical darkness, her faith, too, had given her a very precious spiritual light.

Still, I cannot help thinking of the needs of many others who walked into Jericho with Our Lord that day. They weren't asking to see again, even though many of them were blind with a spiritual blindness. Certainly, some of them failed to see God walking beside them. Their faith was weak and they saw only a Galilean prophet. What painful irony for the gentle sensibilities of Our Lord—being asked to heal physical blindness with so much spiritual blindness all around Him.

It is the same for us in our own troublesome times. If ever we needed spiritually sharp eyes we need them now. So many of us are failing to see God beside us, losing the smooth, cool confidence that God is watching over this latest international mess and is controlling it easily for the good of us all. With our political horizons so threateningly clouded, with production machinery clanking warwards again, we shall need strong faith-sight to preserve our courage and calm. How can we bear the loss of our sons and the privation and danger of war even in such a good cause, if we fail to see God beside us in our trouble?

Then let's take as our prayer this Sunday morning the plea of the blind man of Jericho, "Lord, give me back my sight"—my spiritual sight.

DANIEL FOGARTY, S.J.

## THEATRE

DARKNESS AT NOON, Sidney Kingsley's dramatization of Arthur Koestler's novel is a blood-chilling horror tale that might have been imagined by Edgar Allan Poe, if Poe had been insane. An introspective study of communism, revealing the Communist mentality from the inside, it is historical drama with the macabre flavor of *Dracula* or *The Masque of the Red Death*. It is a picture of psychological brutality too fantastic to be true—only it is true.

Presented at the Alvin by The Playwrights' Company, with an all-purpose set by Frederick Fox forming the background, the production is effectively mounted, and skilfully performed by a cast that includes Alexander Scourby, Will Kuluva and Walter Palanca. Claude Rains is starred in the leading role, and gives an appropriately sardonic portrayal of a condemned commissar trying to make peace with what is left of his conscience. Mr. Kingsley's direction (while there are moments when it seems too deliberate) is

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skilfully paced to sustain a mood of malevolence.

From the night when Rubashov, an old Bolshevik, is shoved into a Soviet prison, until six weeks later, when he shuffles from his cell to receive a bullet in his neck, the story has a nightmarish aspect usually associated with delirium or violent lunacy. Rubashov is a composite of Trotsky, Radek, Bukharin and other lieutenants of Lenin who made the Communist revolution. He has suffered imprisonment, exile and torture for the cause, has done whatever dirty work party expediency required, and now finds himself accused of betraying the regime he helped to create. Further, he is expected to confess himself guilty of the offenses he never thought of committing, to make his execution appear merited and just.

Soviet ideas of law, like the divagations of the party line, often baffle a normal intelligence. People are sometimes unjustly condemned in Western courts—Dreyfus, to cite an instance, or the Scottsboro boys, to mention another. But unjustly accused persons are not expected to concur in their own conviction.

Rubashov, after resisting long enough to enable Mr. Kingsley to write three acts of harrowing drama, makes the confession required by custom and party policy. Since his submission could be taken for granted from the moment of his arrest, his doom is more horrific than dramatic. Having surrendered his free will to party authority, Rubashov can offer only token resistance to the powers that have ordered his destruction. His ordeal is a document rather than a drama.

It is a remarkably well-written document which, while it does not clarify the mysteries of the Communists' mental processes, at least throws some light into the dark caverns of the Marxist mind. Rubashov has three torturers—Gletkin, who attempts to break him physically, and Ivanoff, who attempts mental seduction, both of whom fail. Rubashov's third torturer, who succeeds, is himself. He has spent his life believing and teaching the Communist creed: that men as individuals are zeros, while man in the mass is all-important. His conscience has evaporated in Marxist dialectics, and he is driven to his doom by the logic that has displaced his sense of moral values. Since Rubashov, the individual, is worthless, why should he oppose the larger interests of the masses, as represented by the Communist party?

Subjective drama, in which the principal conflict occurs in a character's mind, is always difficult to present on the stage, and in the case of Rubashov there is hardly any conflict to be presented. He does not fight back; he only hesitates before accepting his fate. Mr. Kingsley has done an exceptionally able job of reducing refractory material to a series of vivid scenes that often pull a spectator to the edge of his seat. THEOPHILUS LEWIS

## FILMS

SO LONG AT THE FAIR. One of the oft-told tales of our time—it has assumed almost the proportions of a folk legend—concerns the mysterious and terrifying plight of a young girl at the Paris Exposition of 1889. Arriving at a hotel one evening, she and her companion, who in different versions is variously her husband, her mother or some other member of her family, are separated by the crowded housing conditions. The next morning the girl is not only unable to find her companion but is also confronted by a multitude of apparently unrelated people and a solid mass of physical evidence all attesting to the fact that no such person ever existed. For those who do not know the story, the explanation of this baffling turn of events shall here remain a secret. The film version, made in England, succeeds in fleshing out the bare bones of the narrative with a wealth of fresh and convincing detail. Jean Simmons is an appealing figure as the distressed damsel in search of her brother, and beginning to doubt her own sanity. In the interests of romance and a happy ending, an artist (Dirk Bogarde), who is a combination of Sir Calahad and Sherlock Holmes, has been written into the proceedings. As a mystery story the picture suffers from a leisurely pace and from having of necessity to conform to a preordained pattern. It is, however, an artfully fashioned and intriguing adult period piece. (Eagle-Lion)

THE ENFORCER. Painful experience has taught me to mistrust crime melodramas. They are especially suspicious when their good intentions are commended in a preface spoken by some earnest but, in matters cinematic, unsophisticated public servant. This one is a fictionalized account of the tracking-down of a gang easily identifiable as the notorious Murder Incorporated, and it carries a prefatory testimonial spoken by Senator Kefauver, chairman of the Senate Crime Investigating Committee—so I expected the worst. As a result, I was very pleasantly surprised. It is hardly possible to make crime into a pleasant or edifying screen subject but the picture approaches it honestly and without sensationalism. The story is told from the point of view of an assistant district attorney (Humphrey Bogart) who is working to convict the gang. The criminals themselves (Everett Sloane, Ted de Corsia, Zero Mostel) are portrayed as a noisome and wholly unglamorous lot. And the film's considerable suspense is generated, not by the commission of crime, but by its

detection and punishment by a very able and credible group of law-enforcement officers. *The Enforcer* may not be your dish of tea but it is an absorbing, adult melodrama. (Warner)

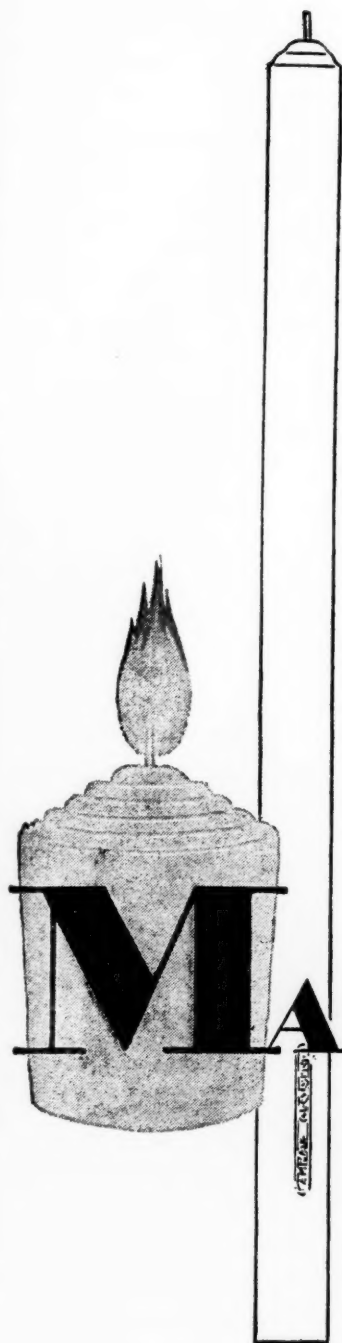
AT WAR WITH THE ARMY is a broad burlesque of Army camp life, and is also the first solo starring vehicle of the comedy team of Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis. Its most obvious advantage over the duo's earlier films is that Irma (Marie Wilson) is not in it. In addition, it provides Lewis with a couple of well-concocted comedy routines in his unique, zany style. Aside from that, adults' enjoyment of the film will depend largely on their receptivity to repetitious jokes about goldbricking, passing the buck and the mental incompetence of all Army men above the rank of sergeant. (Paramount)

MAD WEDNESDAY is Preston Sturges' ill-starred attempt to revive the lost art of slapstick with Harold Lloyd, one of its notable early practitioners. Beginning with the final, hilarious reels of *The Freshman*, a silent-era Lloyd success in which an obscure substitute makes a last-minute touchdown for dear old Siwash, it then cuts forward twenty years to discover the ex-hero as a Milquetoastish clerk who has just been fired from his job. The resulting complications include a colossal bender, a session with the ponies, a three-ring circus, a frisky, full-grown lion and a hair-raising climax on a twenty-story ledge. Whether because of changing tastes or an innate weakness in the film's comic invention, adults are likely to find this painstaking approximation of another generation's sure-fire success a lot more mad than funny. (RKO)

MOIRA WALSH

## PARADE

THE NEWS WAS FULL OF SHARP contrasts . . . The smiles of fortune and the scowls of misfortune flashed side by side throughout the milieu . . . Some individuals were lucky . . . In Bowie, Md., a man who meant to put his money on one horse mistakenly placed it on another. By betting on the wrong horse, which won, the man walked off with \$1,849 . . . Other individuals were unlucky . . . In Sweden, the long beard of a pedestrian caught fire when its owner was lighting a pipe. Passers-by pushed his head into a water fountain, got the blaze under control, but the whiskers were ruined . . . To some came added prestige . . . At a Harrisburg, Pa., convention, a Mr. Chick was elected president of the poul-



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try dealers association . . . To others came loss of face . . . In Rockford, Ill., the chairman of the Safety Council for Traffic Improvement received a ticket for driving through a stop sign . . . Certain autoists basked in fortune's favor . . . In Newmarket, Ont., when a married couple took their dilapidated, old-model car out for a spin, it broke down. After pushing the car home, they stepped into the house and heard the telephone ringing. They had won a brand-new automobile in a raffle . . . Other autoists felt the back of fortune's hand . . . In Hastings, Mich., a sixty-six-year-old man could not get his car started. A neighbor obligingly nudged it with his auto. He nudged and nudged until both cars went over an embankment. Though dazed, neither driver was hurt.

Contentment shed light over human lives . . . In California, a convict sentenced to life imprisonment thirty years ago for shooting his wife, turned down a parole for the seventh time. He explained: "Look at me. I'm wearing a white shirt. Every Sunday I get chicken. Would I do as well outside?" . . . Discouragement darkened lives . . . In Illinois, after a storekeeper had been held up ten times, he decided to go out of business . . . Awards brought cheer to some folks . . . In Australia, a baker won the golden teapot of the Tea Bureau for being his country's greatest tea drinker. In naming the champion, the bureau revealed that he downs 90 cups of tea every day, or 32,850 cups a year . . . Losses brought gloom to other folks . . . In Ann Arbor, Mich., a housewife reported to police that her purse containing \$80 was sold accidentally at a rummage sale where she was working . . . Good news resounded in some ears . . . Individuals who must listen to snorers heard with pleasure of the patenting in Washington, D. C. of a device to silence the noise hitherto associated with snoring. The device prevents the lower jaw from sagging, turns the open-mouth sleeper into a closed-mouth one . . . Bad news rumbled in other ears . . . A seventy-year-old Montreal blacksmith who had applied for a government pension was told he was dead, since documentary evidence showed he had committed suicide some years back . . . In Gainesville, Fla., teachers who chew gum during class hours were informed they would have to choose between their gum and their positions.

During this earthly life, neither the smiles of fortune nor the scowls of misfortune are as important as they seem to be . . . They are not permanent . . . Only in the hereafter does permanence set in . . . The scowls that are eternal mean total loss . . . The smiles that last forever mean total gain.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### Mr. Dulles objects

EDITOR: I was interested in your editorial [Am. 1/13, p. 422] on my address of December 29. I think perhaps you misinterpret what I said. I take the liberty of calling your attention to the following quotations. I said this:

A United States which could be an inactive spectator while the barbarians overran and desecrated the cradle of our Christian civilization would not be the kind of a United States which could defend itself.

With respect to the possibility of an area defense of Europe, I said this:

It may be possible, by prearranged defense, to make that attack costly, particularly where sea and air power play a role or where, as in Western Europe, there is depth and numbers and military experience on which to draw.

I went on, however, to point out that it was not possible to make each nation around the Iron Curtain "impregnable to such a major and unpredictable assault as Russia could launch" and that the only effective deterrent to such an assault was the possession by the free world of a capacity to counter-attack, so great that Russia would not dare to unleash its own attack. "That," I said, "is the ultimate deterrent."

I am not thinking about "liberation." I am talking about preventing an attack which, by purely area defense, we could not effectively stop, at least for a good many years.

In communities there are a very few people who are able to hire a private watchman to protect their own individual home. Generally speaking, however, the preventative of robbery is not a policeman in every home, but a central police force which has such capacity to punish a robber that robberies do not occur. In that way, as I said in my speech, it is possible to get much more effective protection because then "the force that protects one protects all."

JOHN FOSTER DULLES

Washington, D. C.

### U. S. Foreign Policy

EDITOR: In condemning the "reckless" action of the anti-Acheson Republicans (Washington Front, 12/23/50), Father Parsons has in reality given strong support to our present foreign policy—a policy that okays aid to Communist Tito, with no strings attached, and is squeamish about aid to Catholic Spain.

"Just what is the foreign policy of the twenty-three Senators?" asks Father Parsons. "To be more tough with Russia than even Mr. Acheson has been?" Come,

come, Father Parsons, surely you're joking. To call our State Department's policy with Russia "tough" is ridiculous; that statement should surprise even Mr. Acheson!

Father Parsons says: "As it was, Mr. Acheson left with his own and the nation's prestige very gravely impaired." My only comment is: What prestige? Mr. Acheson has not yet acquired a prestige worthy of being impaired, and our nation's prestige is, unfortunately, more than a little dependent upon what we hopefully refer to as State Department "policy."

CHUCK BAYER

Long Beach, California

EDITOR: I find your January 6 comments (p. 394) on Mr. Herbert Hoover's foreign policy speech extremely confusing. When I find the adjectives "moral" and "immoral" used in AMERICA, I assume that reference to some definite moral principle is implied.

At first glance you seem to be relying upon the quotation from the Pope's Christmas message. But I cannot see that His Holiness has therein attempted more than practical suggestion.

Another possible explanation seems to be that you mean only to say that we cannot in justice default on treaties or similar obligations which we may have undertaken with Europe. But surely this would beg the questions 1) whether we have purported to undertake anything; 2) whether those officials who have acted for us had constitutional authority for what they did; 3) just what would constitute performance of these treaties or understandings; 4) what conditions would release us from these obligations.

As I see it, the only other conceivable explanation is that you impliedly assert a moral duty for a nation to risk its security, expend its wealth and sacrifice the lives of its soldiers in the defense of other sovereign nations unjustly attacked. It would seem that a thorough discussion of the principle you assert would be more appropriate than a hazy implication.

JAMES T. FALLON JR.

Medford, Mass.

AMERICA receives many long communications which the Editors are unable to publish for lack of space. So that more of our readers may have an opportunity to express their views, we urge correspondents to make their letters as short as possible. Communications of 250 words or less are preferred.—THE EDITOR.



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## Dear Reader,

If size were everything in life, the dinosaur would not now be extinct—and the *Catholic Mind* would close up shop tomorrow.

Founded nearly a half-century ago, the *Catholic Mind* aimed at providing in handy and preservable form a living record of the best that was being thought and spoken in the Catholic world.

Naturally, that included, in the first place, important pronouncements by the Holy See and by national hierarchies and individual bishops. It included also the more enduring contributions to Catholic periodicals—the kind of articles and editorials which sober-minded citizens like to file away for future reference and use. Finally, as time went on, room was made for notable sermons and addresses, which otherwise might never reach the larger audience they deserved.

In adopting such a policy, the founders of the *Catholic Mind* had no illusions about the size of their potential reading public. They knew that it would be very small. They were convinced, however, that in a democracy, scarcely less than in aristocracies, it is the few who furnish the intellectual leadership without which the many cannot very well perform their democratic role. The *Catholic Mind* was frankly designed as a service for the few—busy people who had to feed their minds substantial food, yet were obliged to do it more or less on the run. It hoped to find such people among the clergy, among workers and farmers, among business men and among professional folk. It has not been disappointed.

Nor did the founders of the *Catholic Mind* have any illusions about their product. They would aim at presenting the best that was being thought in the Catholic world, but they would never attain their goal. The living, thinking, acting Catholic world is much too big to be caught in the pages of any magazine, or even in the pages of all our magazines put together.

Specifically, there was a language difficulty. To make translations takes time and money, and the editors of the *Catholic Mind* have never had much of either. Occasionally, we have used an article from the French or German, but for the most part—except for papal and episcopal statements—we have had to seek our material in the English-speaking press. Per-

haps some day, as the few subscribers become more numerous, we shall be able to extend our horizons.

And the few do seem to be increasing. Whether it is due to the spread of higher education, or the critical times in which we live, or the awakening interest in Catholic social action, we do not know, but *Catholic Mind* subscribers are more numerous today than they have ever been before. AMERICA'S ASSOCIATES have certainly helped. The cold circulation figures reveal that since February, 1949, we have registered a solid gain in annual subscriptions of nearly twenty-five per cent. Most of the advance came during the past year. The current issue was mailed to 8,653 subscribers. In addition, close to 4,000 copies went to parishes and schools, and almost all of these will be sold.

That is heartening progress, and to the extent that AMERICA readers are responsible for it, we thank them most warmly.

Paging through the *Catholic Mind* Index for 1950, the reader will note that Pope Pius XII was our heaviest contributor. All told, he enriched our pages twenty-three times, treating a large variety of subjects. In addition to the major encyclical, *Humani Generis*, we printed allocutions to doctors, lawyers, businessmen, labor leaders, farmers, teachers, jurists, radio directors and editors. Many articles and editorials developed and applied the Holy Father's messages. Confronted with the most dangerous challenge to civilization in the history of the Western world, our people cannot say that their intellectual and spiritual leaders are failing to give them direction and inspiration.

Indeed, the 1950 volume of the *Catholic Mind*, in its preoccupation with peace and war, with domestic reform and world order, provides a living record of our troubled times. It also reflects, unfortunately, the growing intensity of attacks on the Church, not merely by Communists, but also by secularistic liberals and the more anti-Roman wing of Protestantism. Under the heading "Apologetics," the Index lists no less than fourteen titles, many of them reflecting current controversies over education and separation of Church and State. We hope that this emphasis will not be so necessary this year.

That about wraps it up. If you have enjoyed the *Catholic Mind*, please celebrate Catholic Press Month by persuading a friend to subscribe. We'll do our best to see that he receives his three dollars' worth.

*Benjamin L. Masse, Jr.*

Executive Editor  
The Catholic Mind

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